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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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Attached for your information is an analysis of Ochab's speech to the Seventh Plenum of the Polish Communist Party Central Committee. The Poznan riots are discussed in the speech. A copy of the speech is attached.

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INFORMATION REPORT INFORMATION REPORT

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WARSAW :

IN THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION AND ON THE KEY TASKS
OF THE PARTY (REPORT BY EDWARD OCHAB, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE
P U W P CENTRAL COMMITTEE)

DEAR COMRADES :

THE SEVENTH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF OUR PARTY SHOULD
ABOUT IMPORTANT BOTH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DECISIONS WHICH ARE

WITHOUT DOUBT IMPATIENTLY AWAITED BY THE WORKING CLASS AND THE
ENTIRE NATION OF POLAND .-

WE SHOULD ADOPT ANY DECISION CONCERNING THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES
OF THE FIVE YEAR ECONOMIC PLAN WHICH WILL BECOME A PROGRAMME OF
THE FURTHER STRUGGLE OF THE MILLIONS STRONG PEOPLES MASSES FOR THE
RIGHT AND FLOURISHING DEVELOPMENT OF POLAND , FOR THE RISE OF THE
LIVING STANDARDS FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE
CULTURE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY , FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE
CONSTRUCTION OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALISM IN CONCERNING THE
DIRECTION OF THE FURTHER PARTY WORK , THE STRENGTHENING AND ACCO
LORATING OF THE PROCESS OF THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF OUR SOCIAL LIFE
CONCERNING THE FURTHER TIGHTENING OF THE BONDS BETWEEN THE PARTY
AND THE MASSES , THE RELEASE OF THE CREATIVE INITIATIVE OF THE
MASSES , THE EDUCATION OF THE ERRORS AND DISTORTIONS IN PARTY
WORK , THE DRAWING OF ALL-ROUND CONCLUSIONS FROM THE HISTORIC
RESOLUTIONS OF THE TWENTIETH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU .-

THE TWENTIETH CONGRESS CONTINUES TO BE THE SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION
IN ALL COMMUNIST PARTIES . IT CONTINUES TO BE THE SUBJECT OF
MANY ARTICLES IN THE PRESS ALL OVER THE WORLD , IT IS DISCUSSED
BY HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF WORKING PEOPLE WHO SEE IN ITS TEACHINGS
AN ANSWER TO THE KEY PROBLEMS OF HUMANITY , A CREATIVE AFFLI
CATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM BY MARXISM-LENINISM
IN A NEW HISTORICAL SITUATION , A NEW PROSPECT FOR THE FUR
THER STRUGGLE FOR PEACE , FOR DEMOCRACY , FOR NEW VICTORIES OF
COMMUNISM .-

ANY YEAR AND ANY HALF AGO THE THIRD PLENUM OF OUR CENTRAL COMMITTEE
THE HAPPY BUT ANY PARTY LINE DIRECTED TOWARDS THE DEMOCRATIZA
TION OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE OF PEOPLES POLAND , TOWARDS
ANY SPEEDIER IMPROVEMENT IN THE MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF THE WORKING
PEOPLE .

BUT THE DIRECTIVES OF THE THIRD PLENUM HAVE BEEN ONLY PARTLY
IMPLEMENTED .-

THE TWENTIETH CONGRESS GAVE ANY NEW IMPORTANT STIMULUS TO THE
CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF OUR WORK IN ALL FIELDS OF SOCIALIST CON
STRUCTION , IT STIMULATED US TO BRING ABOUT ANY RADICAL TURN IN
OUR PARTY AND STATE ACTIVITY , IN OUR IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL
WORK , IT STIMULATED US TO OVERCOME RADICALLY THE ERRORS AND
DISTORTIONS WHICH FOR YEARS HAD BEEN A BURDEN ON OUR PARTY WORK
AND HAS HAPPENED OUR MARCH FORWARD .-

AFTER THE TWENTIETH CONGRESS OUR PARTY HAS BEEN LIVING THROUGH
ANY FRUITFUL AND CREATIVE PERIOD OF ANY QUICK GROWTH OF THE POLITICAL
POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND ACTIVITY OF ITS RANKS AND OF THE MANY
MILLIONS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE .-

THE PROCESS OF THIS IMPETUOUS DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL LIFE
IMPLIES NEW PROBLEMS AND SETS NEW TASKS TO OUR PARTY , PARTICULAR
LY TO THE PARTY LEADERSHIP .-

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THE SEVENTH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE IS HOLDING ITS SESS
ION THREE WEEKS AFTER THE PAINFUL INCIDENTS IN POZNA .-

IN THE APPRAISAL OF THE REASONS OF THESE INCIDENTS , IT WOULD
BE ERRONEOUS TO CONCENTRATE ATTENTION ABOVE ALL ON THE MANIPULATIONS
OF PROVOCATORS AND IMPERIALISTS AGENTS . IT IS NECESSARY TO LOOK
FIRST OF ALL FOR THE SOCIAL ROOTS OF THESE INCIDENTS WHICH HAVE
BECOME FOR THE WHOLE OF OUR PARTY ANY SIGNAL OF WARNING , TESTIFYING
TO THE EXISTENCE OF SERIOUS DISTURBANCES IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN
THE PARTY AND VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS .-

IT IS TRUE CORRECT AND NORMAL THAT THE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS SUB
MITTED TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU DEVOTED
MUCH TO THE ANALYSIS OF THE POLISH ... INCIDENTS , THEIR BACKGROUND
AND CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH INFLUENCES THE TRAGIC COURSE OF THESE
INCIDENTS . THE DRAFT RESOLUTION DRAWS CONCLUSIONS AND LESSONS FROM
THESE TRAGIC INCIDENTS .-

LONG BEFORE THE STRIKE AND INCIDENTS IN POZNA , OUR PARTY AND
ITS CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAD WITH PROFOUND CONCERN EXAMINED THE PROBLEMS
CONNECTED WITH THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE IN
SATISFACTORY LIVING STANDARDS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE , PARTICULARLY
OF THE WORKING CLASS . SINCE THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE P U W P ,
IN ECONOMIC CONDITIONS WHICH WERE BY NO MEANS EASY , INTENSIFIED
EFFORTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO IMPROVE THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE
POPULATION .-

THE IMPROVEMENT SEARCHED DURING THE SIX YEAR PLAN PERIOD WAS
HIGHLY INSUFFICIENT , THIS WAS DUE ABOVE ALL TO THE CREATIVE SI
TUATION OF OUR ECONOMY , TO THE DIFFICULTIES CONNECTED WITH THE COM
PLEX INTERNATIONAL SITUATION , TO THE NECESSITY OF RAPID INDUSTRIAL
GROWTH IN ANY COUNTRY WHICH WAS ECONOMICALLY BACKWARD AND BUILT
ON THE WAR . IT MUST BE ALSO STATED THAT THE EFFORTS UNDERTAKEN BY
US WITH ANY VIEW TO RAISING THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE MASSES
WERE INSUFFICIENT , BUT ENOUGH ENOUGH AND NOT ALWAYS CONSI
STENT . CONSEQUENTLY , THEY HAVE NOT BROUGHT RESULTS WHICH COULD
BE FELT BY THE WORKING MASSES AS ANY CONSIDERABLE RELIEF AND AN
ESSENTIAL CHANGE FOR THE BETTER , AS ANY RESIST , ANY CONDITIONS
FACILITATING THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ECONOMY AND THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE

THE CITY WILL HAVE AN IMPASSIONED STRUGGLE FOR
ESSENTIAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE WORKING
CLASS AND ALL THE WORKING PEOPLES; FOR THE MAXIMUM DEMOCRACY
WITHIN THE REAL POSSIBILITIES OF OUR ECONOMY.-

OUR PARTY IS A PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS, IT IS THE FLESH
AND BLOOD OF THE PROLETARIAN MASSES OF POLAND. OUR PARTY,
LINKED BY INTERNAL BONDS WITH THE WORKING CLASS, HAS FOR MANY
DECADES LED IT TO STRUGGLE AND TO HISTORIC VICTORIES. THE DISTIN-
CTIONS IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN A SECTION OF THE WORKING CLASS
AND ITS PARTY MAY BE ONLY OF A TRANSITORY NATURE, BUT THIS KIND
OF PHENOMENA MAY NOT BE IN ANY CASE UNDERSTANDINGLY UNDERSTAND-
ED. EVEN AN OVERVIEW OF THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS

CONT.-

WILL ASSIST US IN A RAPID AND FUNDAMENTAL OVERCOMING OF THESE
PHENOMENA. THEY WILL DISAPPEAR THE MORE RAPIDLY THE MORE DETERMINED
WILL BE OUR STRUGGLE FOR THE RAISING OF THE LIVING STANDARDS OF
THE WORKING MASSES; FOR THE STRICT OBSERVANCE OF LEASTST RIGHTS IN
OUR PARTY, FOR THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE ENTIRE
SOCIAL LIFE.-

CONRAD'S DECLARATION WAS -

EVE HAVE SPEECH ABOUT THE BACKGROUND OF THE POZNAN INCIDENTS
IT IS AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND THAT THE CIRCUMSTANCES MUST BE
EXAMINED IN WHICH IT CAN BE SEEN THAT PREVIOUSLY IN THE PRESENT STAGE
OF OUR FIGHT FOR THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF SOCIAL LIFE, FOR THE
REFORMS TO ENLIGHTENED MINDS, THE TROUBLESOMENESS AND DEMOCRACY GROUP
WAS IN PROVOKING A STRIKE AND DEMONSTRATIONS IN POZNAN.-

WEST ALSO CLAIMED THAT IT CAME ABOUT THAT THE CONTEMPORANEOUS
UNDERGROUND HAD TO STAGE A BLOODY PROVOCATION AND DISTURBANCES
IN THE STREETS OF POZNAN.-

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UNDERGROUND HAD TO STAGE A BLOODY PROVOCATION AND DISTURBANCES
IN THE STREETS OF POZNAN.-

THE DISCUSSION GOING ON WITHIN THE PARTY AND IN THE WHOLE COUN-
TRY, THE DISCUSSION WHICH IS SOUND AND SALUTARY FOR THE CAUSE
OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION GAVE THE DISCUSSION OF PROBLEMS CON-
TAINED WITHIN THE OVERCOMING OF THE GUILT OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE
SERIOUS ERRORS OF STATE AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES HAS ALSO ITS
OWN INTERESTS IN ENLIGHTENING.-

THE SUREST WHICH THE REVELATION OF THE DEEPER TRUTH ABOUT THE
FATAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE GUILT OF THE INDIVIDUAL CAUSED TO THE PAR-
TY AND THE WHOLE COUNTRY WAS ACCENTUATED PARTICULARLY BY THE AS-
CERTAINMENT OF THE PAINFUL TRUTH ABOUT THE PROVOCATION WITH REGARD
TO THE CONGRESS PARTY OF POLAND, ABOUT THE TRAGIC FATE OF ITS
LEADERS AND ITS LEADING ACTIVISTS.-

THE PAINFUL TRUTH ABOUT THE DARK ASPECTS OF THE PAST UPON
CAUSED AMONG MANY CONGRUENT AND IN THE PROLETARIAN MASSES BITTERNESS
AND CERTAIN DISTRUST, AND LOSS OF THE SENSE OF PROPORTION IN
THE APPRAISAL OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND ERRORS OF THAT PAST.-

OUR PERMANENT AND PRESS HAVE, ON THE WHOLE, MADE A POSITIVE
CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF OUR LIFE, JUSTLY CRITI-
CIZING NUMEROUS DISTURBANCES AND ERRORS. HOWEVER, A FEW NUMBER OF
PAGES, ON CERTAIN ARTICLES IN SOME PAPERS AND IN THE RADIO,
HAVE BEEN MARKED BY A LACK OF RESTRAINT AND LACK OF UNDERSTANDING
OF THE COLLECTIVE REASONS OF OUR ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES, SOME
JOURNALISTS - AND THAT WERE NOT SO FAR AWAY FROM REVEALING THE LACK
OF THE XI OF A FEELING OF PROPORTION IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF LIGHT
AND SHADOWS THEY DRAWING THE PICTURE OF OUR PAST AND PRESENT.
THEY OFTEN REPLACED THE BEST VARIANTS OF THE PAST PERIOD WITH ENLIGHT-
ENED BLACK COLOURS WHICH USUALLY DISTORTED REALITY.-

THE BROAD CHURCHES AND DEMOCRATIC OUTLOOKS DID NOT MEET
WITH ADEQUATE RESISTANCE, AND THESE DEMOCRATIC VOICES WERE NUMEROUS
ENOUGH TO EXERT A CERTAIN INFLUENCE ON THE MINDS PORTAILED IN
THE COUNTRY.-

THE POZNAN INCIDENTS SHOWED THAT IN THE RECENT PERIODS A WEAKENING
OF REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE AND A POLITICAL DEMOCRATIZATION HAD
TAKEN PLACE IN MANY PARTY ORGANIZATION AND IN THE ORGANS WHICH DUTY
IT IS TO WATCH OVER THE SECURITY OF THE PEOPLES STATE.-

THE LEADERSHIP WAS TOO SLOW IN TAKING DECISIONS CONCERNING THE
SUPPRESSING OF UNLAWFUL GROUPS BY THE VIOLATION OF LEGALITY IN THE
ORGANS OF THE SECURITY AND OF MILITARY INFORMATION DURING PREVIOUS
YEARS. THIS PROLONGED THE PERIOD OF SHARP CRITICISM OF THE APPAR-
ATUS OF PUBLIC SECURITY AND COULD NOT CONTRIBUTE TO THE RESTORATION
OF THE PRESTIGE OF THESE ORGANS.-

IN POZNAN, THE ORGANS CALLED UPON TO DEFEND THE PEOPLES STATE
DID NOT KNOW WELL THE SITUATION, WERE NOT ABLE TO FORSEE EVENTS,
AND DURING THE PERIOD OF THE INTERNATIONAL FAIR, A PERIOD WHICH
CALLED FOR PARTICULARLY PARTICULAR CONCERN ON THE PART OF THESE
OF THESE ORGANS THEY ALLOWED THEMSELVES TO BE CAUGHT BY SURPRISE
BY THE ACTION OF THE ENEMY. THIS CONSTITUTES FOR US A SERIOUS
WARNING SIGNAL.-

THE MEMBERS OF THE EQUIPMENT OFFICE FOR SECURITY AFFAIRS AND
THE SOLDIERS OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY CORPS SHOWED MUCH COURAGE
AND DETERMINATION IN DEFENDING THEMSELVES AGAINST THE ATTACK OF THE
ENEMY. ONE SHOULD STRESS THE COURAGEOUS AND OTHER HEROIC ATTITUDE
OF THE FUNCTIONARIES OF THE SECURITY ORGANS, WHILE THEY WERE RE-
PELLED FOR MANY HOURS STUBBORN ATTACKS BY HOSTILE ARMED GROUPS
OF THE BUILDING OF THE SECURITY OFFICE.-

WE MUST DRAW THE PROPER CONCLUSIONS FROM THE POZNAN EVENTS AND
NOT ALLOW OURSELVES TO BE LED AWAY BY THE FACT THAT THE ENEMY
WANTS TO UTILIZE THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION FOR ITS OWN IMPROVING
PURPOSES. OUR ORGANS OF PUBLIC SECURITY MUST BE VIGILANT,
MUST DENY THE SCHEMINGS AND PARALYZE THE INTENTIONS OF THE ENEMY.
THEY MUST ACT EFFECTIVELY, BUT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAW.
IT IS THE DUTY OF THE PARTY AND OF THE COUNTRY BOTH TO CONTROL
THE ACTIVITY OF THE ORGANS OF PUBLIC SECURITY AND ASSIST THEM IN THEIR

AND EXTERMINATION IN DEFENDING THEMSELVES AGAINST THE ATTACK OF THE
ENEMY. WE SHOULD STRESS THE COURAGEOUS AND OFTEN HEROIC ATTITUDE
OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY ORGANS, WHILE THEY WERE RE-
FELLING THE MANY BOMB STROKES ATTACKS AT HOSTILE ARMED GAINS
OF THE BUILDING OF THE SECURITY OFFICE. -

WE MUST DRAW THE PROPER CONCLUSIONS FROM THE POZNAŃ EVENTS AND
NOT ALLOW OURSELVES TO BE LED ASTRAY BY THE FACT THAT THE ENEMY
WANTS TO UTILISE THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION FOR ITS OWN TOWARDS
ENFANCES AIMS. OUR ORGANS OF PUBLIC SECURITY MUST BE VIGILANT,
MUST UNDOUBT THE SCHEMES AND PARALYZE THE INTENTIONS OF THE ENEMY
THEY MUST ACT EFFECTIVELY, NOT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAW.
IT IS THE DUTY OF THE PARTY AND OF THE COMMUNITY BOTH TO CONTROL
THE ACTIVITY OF THE ORGANS OF PUBLIC SECURITY AND ASSIST THEM IN THEIR
IN THEIR HARD AND RESPONSIBLE WORK. -

THE INACTIVITY, AND OFTEN THE LACK OF ORIENTATION OF THE PART
OF MANY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IS STRIKING IN THE POZNAŃ EVENTS
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THE INACTIVITY, AND OFTEN THE LACK OF ORIENTATION OF THE PART
OF MANY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IS STRIKING IN THE POZNAŃ EVENTS. -

THE VOYEVODSHIP COMMITTEE AND THE MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE HAVE ALSO
ALLOWED THEMSELVES TO BE CAUGHT UNPREPARED BY THE EVENTS. THE
PARTY ORGANIZATIONS OF THE CITY OF POZNAŃ WAS NOT ABLE TO CONTROL
ACT, IN AN ORGANIZED AND ORGANIZED MANNER, THE TERRIBLE MARCHES AND
DEMONSTRATIONS, WAS NOT ABLE TO CONVINCE THE WORKERS THAT THE STRIKE
IN A PEOPLE'S STATE AND IN THE CONDITIONS OF SOCIALIST BUILDING
CANNOT BE AN INSTRUMENT OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASS,
THAT IT IS PERJURIOUS FOR THE INTERESTS OF THE PROLETARIAT,
THAT IT CAN BENEFIT ONLY ITS ENEMIES. -

IT IS A FACT THAT DURING THE STRIKE, FOR THE PROVOCATIVE
DISTURBANCES IN POZNAŃ GAINED THE SUPPORT OF THE WORKING CLASS
IN OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY AND REMAINED ISOLATED, AS WELL AS
THE FACT THAT THEY MET WITH THE JUST CONDEMNATION OF OF PUBLIC
OPINION. -

CONTINUED U.C.N.A.S. SPEECH ---FROM JULY 20TH ---1956---1416---ON

OUR CURRENT PASS IN SILENCE, HOWEVER, THAT THE POZNAŃ EVENTS
THREW AVE GLAMING LIGHT ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY
IN THE DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE SEVENTH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE, WE BASED AVE NUMBER OF CONCLUSION ON THESE PAINFUL
EXPERIENCES OF THE POZNAŃ EVENTS. -

THE WHOLE PARTY CONSCIOUS OF ITS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FURTHER
DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY, SHOULD CONCENTRATE ITS ATTENTION THE
DECISIVE ON THE STRUGGLE FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF AVE BOND WITH
THE MASSES, AND ABOVE ALL WITH THE WORKING CLASS WHICH GAVE US
BIRTH AND DISTINGUISH US FOR THE STRUGGLE FOR ITS HISTORIC GOALS. -

THE SEVENTH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE IS PROPOSING TO
THE PARTY AND TO THE NATION AVE CONCRETE PROGRAMME OF ACTION,
AVE PROGRAMME OF STRUGGLE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE LIVING
STANDARDS, FOR THE FURTHER DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE POLITICAL LIFE
OF THE ENTIRE COUNTRY. -

WE SHOULD DO EVERYTHING IN OUR POWER TO IMPLEMENT THIS PROGRAMME
WITH THE URGENT ENERGY, IMPROVE THE METHODS AND STYLE OF PARTY
WORK STIMULING THE BROAD MASSES WITH AVE PROFOUND FAITH IN THE FIRM
FUTURISM AND EQUITY OF OUR ASPIRATIONS AND THE REALITY OF THE CON-
CRETE TASKS OF SOCIALIST BUILDING. -

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THE STRENGTHENING OF OUR BONDS WITH THE WORKING CLASS, THE OVER-
COMING OF ERRORS WHICH LED TO AVE CONSIDERABLE WEAKENING OF THESE
BONDS DEPENDING IN AVE GREAT MEASURE FROM AVE ECONOMIC POLICY. -

AVE CURRENT ECONOMIC PROBLEM - AVE POLICY WHICH WHILE STRONG
GUARANTEEING THE ECONOMIC UPRIGHT OF THE COUNTRY ENSURED AT THE SAME
TIME AVE STEADY IMPROVEMENT IN THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE WORKING
PEOPLE - IS UNDOUBTLESS AN INDISPENSABLE CONDITION OF THE CLOSE
UNION OF THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS OF POLAND WITH OUR PARTY. -

TWO PROBLEMS CAME TO THE FORE:

FIRSTLY - THE APPRAISAL OF THE RESULTS OF THE SIX YEAR PLAN
AND SECONDLY - THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES AND PROSPECTS OF THE FIVE YEAR
PLAN. WE ALL REMEMBER THE SITUATION WITH WHICH ALMOST EIGHT
YEARS AGO, WE ADOPTED AT THE UNIFICATION CONGRESS THE FIRST GUIDING
LINES OF THE SIX YEAR PLAN. WE REMEMBER WELL WITH AVE NEW SITUATION
THOSE GUIDING LINES WERE THEN RECEIVED BY THE WORKING CLASS AND THE
AND THE WORKING INTELLIGENTSIA, BY ALL THE WORKING PEOPLE, BY
THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE SIXTYSEVEN MILLION

THIS
ENTRUSTMENT WAS NOT CONFINED TO VERBAL DECLARATIONS. NOT GREAT
WAS THE CONTRIBUTION OF OUR MINERS WHO OBLIGED TO THEIR HEROIC EFFORTS
ENSURED AVE CONSIDERABLE INCREASE IN THE EXTRACTION OF COAL WHICH
WAS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT SOURCES OF FINANCING THE GREAT
CONSTRUCTION OF THE SIX YEAR PLAN, EXPLANATION MARK. -

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WAS THE CONTRIBUTION OF OUR MINERS WHO OBLIGED TO THEIR HEROIC EFFORTS
ENSURED AVE CONSIDERABLE INCREASE IN THE EXTRACTION OF COAL WHICH
WAS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT SOURCES OF FINANCING THE GREAT
CONSTRUCTION OF THE SIX YEAR PLAN, EXPLANATION MARK. -

HOW MUCH SELFLESSNESS WAS SHOWN BY THE BUILDERS OF INDA HUTA
OF BIEŻUN, OF THE INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS OF THE ADOPTION REGION,
ERECTED OFTEN IN THE OPEN FIELDS, IN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT CONDITIONS
EXPLANATION MARK. -

HOW MUCH WAS THE UNDERSTANDING AND COURAGE WITH WHICH THE WORKING
WORKING PEOPLE ENDURED ON THEIR SHOULDERS THE BURDEN OF CONSTRUCTION
IN THE COURSE OF THE LAST SIX YEARS.

BTU

WAS THE CONTRIBUTION OF OUR MINERS WHO OWING TO THEIR HEROIC EFFORTS
 INSURED AN INCREASING INCREASE IN THE EXTRACTION OF COAL WHICH
 WAS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT SOURCES OF FINANCING THE GREAT
 CONSTRUCTION OF THE SIX YEAR PLAN, EXPLANATION MARK .-

HOW MUCH SELFLESSNESS WAS SHOWN BY THE BREADS OF MOSCOW
 OF MOSCOW , OF THE INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS OF THE ARCTIC REGION ,
 EXPORTED INTO THE OPEN FIELD , IN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT CONDITIONS
 EXPLANATIONS MARK .-

HOW GREAT WAS THE UNDERSTANDING AND COURAGE WITH WHICH THE WORKING
 MEN OF MOSCOW CARRIED ON THEIR SHOULDERS THE BURDEN OF CONSTRUCTION
 IN THE COURSE OF THE LAST SIX YEARS .

DID THIS EFFORT , THIS DEVOTION , THESE SACRIFICES BRING RESULTS
 ? DID THEY STRENGTHEN POLAND MORE AND MORE THEY BENEFICIAL FOR
 THE PEOPLE THERE ?

WE HAVE THE FULL RIGHT TO SAY TO EACH PARTICIPANT IN THE CON-
 STITUTION DURING THE PAST SIX YEARS : YOUR WORK HAS BROUGHT AN
 ABUNDANT HARVEST TO THE POLISH PEOPLE , IT HAS BROUGHT ESSENTIAL BEN-
 EFITS TO YOURSELVES , TO YOUR NEAR KINS , TO YOUR CLASS , TO YOUR
 NATION . THE LATEST RESOLUTION SUBMITTED TO THE CONGRESS CONTAINS
 FIGURES FAVORABLE TO THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF POLAND DURING THE
 PERIOD OF THE SIX YEAR PLAN .-

THESE FIGURES CONFIRM THAT : POLAND IN NINETEEN FIFTY FIVE HAD
 CHANGED IN AN FUNDAMENTAL IN FUNDAMENTAL MANNER IN COMPARISON WITH
 POLAND IN NINETEEN FORTY FIVE . WE HAVE AND VERY CONSIDERABLE STEPS
 FORWARDS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLISH INDUSTRY - AN INDUSTRY WHICH
 WAS NEAR AND WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN THE PARTITION OF POLAND AND
 UNDER THE RULE OF POLISH CAPITALISTS AN INDUSTRY DEPRIVED BY THE
 FIRST CONGRESS , AN INDUSTRY DEPRIVED BY THE SECOND . WE HAVE FIFTY
 PER CENT IN THE PHASES ECONOMIC LEVEL OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY COMMITTEE
 FOR DEVELOPMENT CONSIDERING TO UNEMPLOYMENT EVERY THIRD INHABITANT OF
 THE TOWN AND DEPRIVED MILLIONS OF POOR PEASANTS OF ANY PROSPECTIVE
 FUTURE .-

ALMOST SIX MILLION PEOPLE WENT TOWARDS THE END OF THE SIX YEAR
 PLAN IN THE SOCIALIST SECTOR OF THE NATIONAL INDUSTRY OBTAINING ACHIEVEMENTS
 IN THE FUTURE . THESE ARE INCOMPARABLE AND ... THUS TO THE
 INDUSTRIAL NATION AND IN THE ECONOMIC POTENTIAL OF THE COUNTRY
 AND WHO IS NOT ASKING THAT ONLY ONE COUNTRY STRONG INDUSTRIALLY
 AND COUNTRY WITH A HIGH ECONOMIC POTENTIAL CAN INSURE EVEN BETTER
 LIVING CONDITIONS TO ITS CITIZENS :

IT IS TRUE THAT THERE ARE ALSO OTHER FIGURES . FIGURES CON-
 CERNING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TASKS SET UP BY THE PLAN . NOT
 ALL OF THEM WERE FULFILLED . SOME OF THE FUNDAMENTAL TASKS HAVE
 NOT BEEN IMPLEMENTED EITHER .

IT IS INCONTESTABLE THAT IN THE PRODUCTION OF AN OBJECT OF AN
 FIELD OF SUCH IMPORTANCE AS COAL AND CEMENT WE HAVE NOT ACHIEVED
 THE TASKS PREVIOUSLY PROVIDED FOR IN THE PLAN , AND THAT IS MORE
 IMPORTANT , IN AGRICULTURE , WHERE THE INCREASE IN PRODUCTION WAS
 TO AMOUNT TO FIFTY PERCENT , THE PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION IS FAR
 FROM THIS FIGURE .-

WE HAVE DEVOTED MUCH ATTENTION AT THE SECOND CONGRESS AS WELL
 AS AT THE FOURTH AND FIFTH PARTS TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS QUESTION
 . BUT THIS QUESTION MUST BE STUDIED AGAIN , FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF
 THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN TO ACHIEVING THE INCREASE IN THE
 INDUSTRIAL INCREASE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SUCH AN FUNDAMENTAL TASK
 THAT OF THE PLAN AS THE PLANNED INCREASE IN THE STANDARDS OF LIVING
 OF THE WORKING PEOPLE LIVING IN TOWN .-

THE QUESTION OF THE INCREASE OF THE STANDARD OF LIVING IN THE
 SOCIALIST COUNTRY DURING THE SIX YEAR PERIOD CALLS FOR EXPLANATION .
 THE NUMBER OF THE COUNTRY CONGRESS RECEIVED THE DATA OF THE NATIONAL
 STATISTICAL OFFICE WHICH CALCULATED THAT THE INCOME OF POLISH
 WORKERS DURING THE SIX YEAR PERIOD INCREASED BY TWENTY SEVEN PERCENT
 SIX PERCENT .-

THE FIGURES AND THE RESULTS OF THESE CALCULATIONS GIVE RISE
 TO SERIOUS DOUBTS , WE CERTAINLY DO NOT CORRESPOND TO THE
 EFFORTS WHICH THE POLISH PEOPLE HAVE MADE IN THEIR SITUATION IN
 REPLYING TO THE QUESTION .-

THE CONCLUSION ESTABLISHED BY THE COUNTRY CONGRESS ESTIMATED
 THAT DURING THE FIVE YEARS NINETEEN FIFTY ONE TO NINETEEN FIFTY
 FIVE THE INCREASE IN REAL WAGES AMOUNTED TO ONLY THIRTEEN PERCENT
 . IN ANY EVENT WE MUST STATE : FIRSTLY - THAT THE INCREASE IN THE
 REAL WAGES OF THE WORKING CLASS WAS INTERFERED BY AN ACTUAL INCREASE
 OF THOSE WAGES IN THE YEARS NINETEEN FIFTY ONE TO NINETEEN FIFTY
 THREE ONLY .-

THESE FIGURES - TWENTY SEVEN PERCENT INCREASE IN REAL WAGES WAS FAR FROM THE
 LEVEL PROVIDED FOR IN THE PLAN .

SECONDLY - THAT THIS INCREASE WAS VERY SMALL , THAT AN INCREASE
 IN THE NUMBER OF WORKING PEOPLE DID NOT IMPROVE THEIR SITUATION IN
 SITUATION IN COMPARISON WITH NINETEEN FORTY FIVE , AND ALSO THAT
 THERE ARE CAUSES OF WORKING PEOPLE IN THEIR SITUATION WHICH THEY
 POSSESS .-

WHY DID IT HAPPEN ?

THE NUMBER OF CAUSES ACCOUNTS FOR THAT . SOME OF THEM WERE IN
 DEPENDENT OF OUR WILL AND ARE NOT PUT TO OUR PART . OTHERS ,
 HOWEVER , COULD AND SHOULD HAVE BEEN ELIMINATED IN ONE TIME .
 AMONG THE CAUSES INDEPENDENT OF OUR WILL , THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
 INTERNATIONAL SITUATION SHOULD BE COUNTED IN THE FIRST PLACE .
 THE YEARS NINETEEN FIFTY ONE AND NINETEEN FIFTY TWO BROUGHT A
 DEGRADATION OF THIS SITUATION . SOME WENT TO THE EAST OF EUROPE .
 REPRESENTATIVES OF ADVENTURIST TENDENCIES , ATTEMPTING TO IMPOSE
 THE NEW WORLD SLAUGHTER CAUSED THE UPPER HAND IN THE INTERNATIONAL
 SITUATION .

THREE SECT.

SECRET

THIRTY - THREE LEVEL IN NINETEEN FIFTY FIVE WAS FAR FROM THE LEVEL PROVIDED FOR IN THE PLAN.

THIRTY - THAT THIS INCREASE WAS VERY HIGH, THAT THE CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF WORKING PEOPLE DID NOT IMPROVE THEIR SITUATION IN SITUATION IN COMPARISON WITH NINETEEN FORTY FIVE, AND ALSO THAT THERE ARE GROUPS OF WORKING PEOPLE WHOSE SITUATION COULD BE IMPROVED.

WHY DID IT HAPPEN?

THE NUMBER OF CAUSES ACCOUNTS FOR THAT. SOME OF THEM WERE IN DEPENDENT OF OUR WILL AND ARE NOT DUE TO OUR FAULT. OTHERS, HOWEVER, COULD AND SHOULD HAVE BEEN ELIMINATED IN OUR TIME. AMONG THE CAUSES INDEPENDENT OF OUR WILL, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION SHOULD BE COUNTED IN THE FIRST PLACE. THE YEARS NINETEEN FIFTY AND NINETEEN FIFTY ONE WERE NOT A FAVORABLE EXAGGERATION OF THIS SITUATION. SOME BEGAN TO DREAM OF MORE REPRESENTATIVES OF ADVENTURIST TENDENCIES, ATTEMPTING TO IMAGINE THE NEW WORLD SLAMMING THE DOOR IN THE FACE OF THE IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES.

WESTERN GERMANY BECAME ONE OF THE CENTERS OF MILITARY PREPARATIONS, AND THE ANTI-POLISH REVOLUTIONIST CAMPAIGN - ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ELEMENTS OF THE PREPARATIONS OF A NEW WAR. IN THIS SITUATION, IT WAS THE DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT AND OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP TO DO EVERYTHING IN THEIR POWER THAT THE COUNTRY SHOULD NOT BE BURNED BY THE FIRE OF THE WAR. EACH OF US LIVED THE SEVENTEEN NINETEEN THIRTY ONE CATASTROPHES AND WILL REMEMBER THE FURIOUS HISTERIES OF THE HISTERIES, WHICH PROVIDED THE REFLECT. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT NO ONE AMONG THE WORKING PEOPLE WOULD REFUSE ANY SACRIFICES THAT THIS REFLECT BE REPEATED AGAIN.

IT WAS NOT RIGHT THAT WE DID NOT TELL THEM OTHER ABOUT TO THE XX ABOUT IT TO THE PARTY AND TO THE NATION, THAT AT THE FIFTH OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WE DID NOT SAY AND WE DID NOT SAY OUR PLAN.

WE DID NOT DO IT FOR US WERE GUIDED BY THE PROBABLY UNJUSTIFIED FEAR THAT THE ENEMY WOULD THEREBY LEARN TOO MUCH ABOUT OUR DEFENSE PREPARATIONS.

IN THE COURSE OF TWO TO THREE YEARS WE DELAYED AND OTHERS TO FORCE INDUSTRY WE HAVE NOT INTO ACTION THE PRODUCTION OF NEW CARBON TUBES, NEW PLACES AND OTHERS. THIS WAS AN ECONOMIC EFFORT.

THE DEFENSE INDUSTRY REQUIRED CEMENT, STEEL AND OTHERS. METALS, OF WHICH IT HAD VERY LITTLE, IT ANSWERED - AS WE ARE SAYING IN THE RESOLUTION - THE MOST WORKING AND CONVICTIONS CAUSE, IT ANSWERED THAT MATERIALS IN SHORT SURELY AND UNDEVELOPED THE PRODUCTION OF FOREIGN CEMENT FOR THE EXPORT OF INSTALLATIONS. THE VALUE OF THE VALUE OF THE PRODUCTION OF THE DEFENSE INDUSTRY REPRESENTS MANY THOUSANDS OF MILLIONS, BUT THESE THOUSANDS OF MILLIONS SHOULD BE MULTIPLIED SEVERAL TIMES WE WANT TO ARRIVE AT THE VALUE OF THE GOODS WHICH THE SAME MAN CAN HAVE THROUGH INTO THE MARKET, UTILIZING THE SAME RAW MATERIALS AND THE QUALITY IMPROVED EQUIPMENT FOR ANOTHER AND MORE FAST CIVILIAN PRODUCTION.

LOOKING BACK AT THESE YEARS, WE DO NOT THINK THAT WE MUST TO REDUCE THESE REPORTS.

ASSUREDLY, IT COULD HAVE BEEN MANY THINGS BETTER AND MORE DRAWN DAILY BUT IT IS NECESSARY TO SAY ALREADY TO THE NATION:

IF TODAY WE HAVE ANY CERTAIN INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, IF THE WORK OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IS TODAY BECOMING POPULAR MORE AND MORE AND PART OF DANGEROUS POSITIONS - THIS CAN BE POSSIBLE ONLY GOING TO THE STRENGTH OF THE PEACE CAMP.

THIS STRENGTH IS CONSTITUTED ABOVE ALL BY THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE SOVIET UNION, BUT THERE IS ALSO BY THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE POLISH NATION. THE SACRIFICES WHICH WE MADE IN ORDER TO CREATE AND DEFENSE INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTED TO THE PRESERVATION OF THE PEACE OF THE WORLD AND OF THE PEACE OF POLAND. DO WE HAVE TO BEGAIN, HOWEVER, THAT THE YEARS OF WAR REWARD MORE SACRIFICES THAN THE YEARS OF CONSTRUCTION OF THE DEFENSE INDUSTRY WITHOUT SUFFERING OF THE WORKING PEOPLE CALAMITIES BROUGHT BY A NEW DAY AND EVERY HOUR OF WAR?

IS IT ONLY GOING TO THE FACT THAT WE HAD TO BUILD RAPIDLY AND DEFENSE INDUSTRY THAT WE DID NOT IMPLEMENT THE PLAN OF THE INCREASE IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING QUANTITATIVE, WE CERTAINLY COMMITTED SERIOUS ERRORS.

WE SHOULD SPEAK OF THESE ERRORS AND WE DO SPEAK OF THEM IN THE DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE PLAN IN ORDER TO AVOID THESE ERRORS IN THE FUTURE, IN ORDER TO EVERYTHING THAT IS IN OUR POWER DURING THE XX FIVE YEAR PLAN TO ACHIEVE THE REAL INCREASE IN THE LIVING STANDARD.

WE HAVE PROVIDED IN THE PLAN FOR TOO HIGH AND UNREAL RATE OF INCREASE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION.

WHAT IS MORE, WE HAVE NEGLECTED AGRICULTURE WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN HELPED MORE THAN WE HAVE DONE.

THERE WERE ERRORS IN THE POLICY WITH REGARD TO THE WORKING PROBLEMS AND ELEMENTS OF INTEREST WITH REGARD TO THE POLAND. IN INDUSTRIAL BUILDING THERE WAS A WEAKNESS FOR THE BUILDING OF ABOUT AN ADEQUATE CONCERN FOR THE FULL UTILIZATION OF OLD FACTORIES. THERE WAS A CERTAIN KIND OF SUBJECTIVE "MAMOR TENDING" APPROACH. THERE WAS A LACK OF ADEQUATE ANALYSIS OF THE ECONOMIC PURPOSEFULNESS AND EXTENSIVENESS OF INVESTMENTS. THERE WAS A NUMBER OF OTHER ERRORS AND DEFICIENCIES.

BUT THE SAME TRUE ARE SYSTEM HAS DEVELOPED IN POLAND OF EXCESSIVE CENTRALIZATION IN PLANNING AND MANAGING THE NATIONAL ECONOMY, A SYSTEM WHICH LED TO AN EXAGGERATION AND PERPETUATION OF ERRORS OUR COUNTRY, WHICH INCREASED DIFFICULTY THE CONNECTION OF INCORRECT MOOTS AND PARALYZED LOCAL INITIATIVE - THE INITIATIVE OF THE WORKERS AND THAT OF THE ENTIRE HOST OF WORKING ESTABLISHMENTS.

ADMINISTRATIVE DISTORTIONS WHICH, DUE TO THE EXCESSIVE

BY INDUSTRIAL BUILDING THERE WAS AWE DRIVE FOR NEW BUILDING N
THAT AN ADEQUATE CONCERN FOR THE FULL UTILIZATION OF OLD
FACTORIES, THERE WAS AWE CERTAIN KIND OF SUPERFICIAL "ADVER
TISING" APPROACH. THERE WAS AWE LACK OF AWE PROFOUND ANALYSIS
OF THE ECONOMIC PURPOSEFULNESS AND EXTENSIVENESS(?) OF
INVESTMENTS. THERE WAS AWE NUMBER OF OTHER ERRORS AND
OMISSIONS.

AT THE SAME TIME ATE SYSTEM HAS DEVELOPED IN POLAND OF EXCESSIVE CENTRALIZATION IN PLANNING AND MANAGING THE NATIONAL ECONOMY, AND SYSTEM WHICH LED TO AN EXAGGERATION AND PERPETUATION OF ERRORS ONCE COMMITTED, WHICH RENDERED DIFFICULT THE CORRECTION OF INCORRECT MOVES AND PARALYZED LOCAL INITIATIVE - THE INITIATIVE OF THE WORKERS AND THAT OF THE MANAGERIAL OF WORKS REORGANIZING.

BUREAUCRATIC DISTORTIONS WHICH, DUE TO THE EXCESSIVE
 CENTRALIZATION OF THE ECONOMY, WEAKENED THE ECONOMIC INCENTIVE
 FOR THE CONSTITUTION OF AN INDEPENDENT FRANCHISE OF SOCIALIST POLI-
 TICS. - SIGNIFICANTLY WEAKENED THE TIES BETWEEN THE WORKING CLASS
 AND THE ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT OF THE COUNTRY, AND ALSO BETWEEN
 THE WORKERS AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE STATE WHEN ESTABLISH-
 MENTS, IT IS ONLY DUE TO THE SEPARATING OF THE WORKERS WITH
 THE WORKING CLASS THAT COULD OCCUR AN EXTREMELY HARSH
 PERSECUTION WHICH WE CONSIDER AS A CASE OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP -
 DID NOT START COMING IN LINE THE WEAKENING OF THE CON-
 CERN FOR THE GREATEST POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENT IN THE LIVING
 CONDITIONS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE.

WE KNOW THAT A STEADY IMPROVEMENT IN THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE CAN BE ASSURED ONLY THROUGH THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES, THROUGH AN INCREASE IN PRODUCTION. IT IS NECESSARY, HOWEVER, THAT THE MANAGING ORGANS OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY SHOULD CONSTANTLY EXAMINE THE SITUATION OF WORKING PEOPLE, SHOULD CARE TO IMPROVE AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE THEIR LIVING STANDARDS.

IN MANY REGIONS OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AN TENDENCY APPEARED DURING THE SIXTH PLAN, TO CONSIDER THE INCREASE IN PRODUCTION AS IF IT WERE AN END IN ITSELF, AND TENDENCY TO DEAL WITH THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF WORKING PEOPLE AS AN RESULTANT OF OTHER FACTORS IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY, AND NOT AS ONE OF THE BASIC AIDS OF THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE PARTY AND OF THE GOVERN!

430 R. E. A.

200/1-0000/7/20-1016-NI - C C 3 A D CONTINUED

WE DID NOT FAIL TO VIEW ALL THE NECESSARY SCENE PHOTOGRAPHS
WE TOOK IN SEVERAL PLACES, WHICH OCCURRED IN THE YEARS IMMEDIATELY
PREVIOUS TO OUR INVESTIGATION. WE TAKE OF COURSE THIS STATEMENT
UNBESPOKE, UNBESPOKE BY THE SPECIAL COUNCILORS OF THE FACT DID
WE THEM SUPERFLUOUSLY REPEATED, OTHER, AMONG OTHER THINGS, TO
THE FACT THAT IN MANY LINES OF OUR INQUIRY APPEARANCE WAS EVIDENT
AN EVIDENT ATTITUDE WITH REGARD TO COUNTRIES BELONGING
TO THE LEVEL OF COURTESY OF THE PEOPLE PEOPLE, HAD OF THIS
THIS CASE CONTINUED TO EXIST AND MAINTAIN THE SAME ATTITUDE
TO THE FACT, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THAT WE HAD NOT RECEIVED UNTIL
THAT THAT THE EVIDENCE CONTINUED TO BE IN THE SAME
MANNER, THAT WE HAD NOT RECEIVED UNTIL THAT THAT IN THE
THEIR AND MAINTAINED AND EVIDENT FACTORS TO BECOME AND
FROM A PARTICIPATION OF THE PEOPLE PEOPLE IN MAINTAINING THE NATIONAL
COUNTRY.

WE MUST REMOVE THESE ENIGMS WITH ALL THE ENERGY AT

IN THE DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED TO THE MEMBERS OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE IT WISE TO SAY ON BEHALF OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE, ON BEHALF OF THE PARTY:

WE ARE UNDERTAKING AND DETERMINED FIGHT AGAINST THE UN-
CESSARY CENTRALIZATION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY, AND FIGHT SO
AS TO INCREASE IN THE AUTONOMY OF NATIONS

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

WE ARE UNDERTAKING THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE EX-
CESSIVE CENTRALIZATION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY, AND FIGHT FOR
AN INCREASE IN THE AUTONOMY OF VARIOUS LINES OF ECONOMIC
ADMINISTRATION, AND PARTICULARLY OF FIRM ESTABLISHMENTS, AND
FIGHT FOR REAL CONTROL OF WORKING PEOPLE OVER THE NATIONAL
ECONOMY AND ENTERPRISES IN WHICH THE WORKING PEOPLE HAVE PA-
TICIPATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE IN MANAGING THE NATIONAL
ECONOMY.

WE REQUESTED TO ALL OUR COMRADES WORKING IN THE ECONOMIC AND
INDUSTRY THAT THEY SHOULD BE EMPLOYED IN THEIR DAILY WORK THAT
THE IMPROVEMENT IN THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE WORKING
PEOPLE IS ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL AIMS OF THE ECONOMIC POLICY
OF THE PARTY, THAT IN DRAFTING OUR ECONOMIC PLANS THEY SHOULD ALWAYS
AS ONE FUNDAMENTAL GUIDING LINE THE ACCOMPLISHMENT DURING THE
FIVE YEAR PLAN OF THE FOLLOWING DESIRES FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF
THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE:

WE MUST ACHIEVE AN INCREASE OF THE AVERAGE REAL WAGES OF WORKERS AND OF THE AVERAGE INCOME OF WORKING FAMILIES BY THIRTY PERCENT IN THE COURSE OF FIVE YEARS.

US TEST REVEALS NOT LESS THAN ONE MILLION UNOWNED DOWNSIDE
NEW DWELLING HOUSES DURING THE FIVE YEAR PERIOD, IN ADDITION
TO PERCENT HOUSING CONSTRUCTION, AND AT THE SAME TIME CON
SIDERABLY INCREASE CAPITAL RETURNS OF THE EXISTING DWELLING
UNITS.

WE MUST ENSURE AYE CONSIDERABLE IMPROVEMENT IN WORKING
CONDITIONS, PARTICULARLY IN MINING, REDUCE IN NINETEENFIFT
SEVEN THE NUMBER OF SO CALLED EXTRACTION SUNDAYS TO ONE PER

OF THE PARTY, THAT IN DRAFTING OUR ECONOMIC PLANS THEY SHOULD ASSESS
AS AVE FUNDAMENTAL BUILDING LINE THE ACHIEVEMENTS DURING THE
FIVE YEAR PLAN OF THE FOLLOWING CHOICES FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF
THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE.

WE MUST ACHIEVE AN INCREASE OF THE AVERAGE REAL WAGES OF
WORKERS AND OF THE AVERAGE INCREASE OF WORKING PEASANTS BY THIRTY
PERCENT IN THE COURSE OF FIVE YEARS.

WE MUST ENSURE NOT LESS THAN ONE MILLION TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND
NEW DWELLING HOUSES DURING THE FIVE YEAR PERIOD, IN ADDITION
TO PRESENT HOUSING CONSTRUCTION, AND AT THE SAME TIME CON-
SIDERABLY INCREASE CAPITAL REPAIRS OF THE EXISTING DWELLING
HOUSES.

WE MUST ENSURE AVE CONSIDERABLE IMPROVEMENT IN WORKING
CONDITIONS, PARTICULARLY IN MINING, REDUCE IN NINETEENTYFIVE
SEVEN THE NUMBER OF SOCIAL EXTRACTION SUBWAYS TO ONE PER
MINE AND TO ELIMINATE THEM COMPLETELY IN NINETEENTYFIFTY.

IN ADDITION TO THE WAGE INCREASES EXPECTED THIS YEAR, WE
ARE PLANNING TO INCREASE THE WAGE FUND IN NINETEENTYFIFTYSEVEN
BY AVE FURTHER SEVERAL THOUSAND MILLION, PAYING FIRST ATTEN-
TION TO THE WORKERS WHO ARE EARNING LITTLE. IN NINETEEN
SIXTY, THE AVERAGE REAL WAGES WILL BE THIRTY PERCENT HIGHER
THAN IN NINETEENTYFIFTYFIVE.

AFTER THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THESE TASKS, THE LEVEL OF WAGES
WILL BE STILL RELATIVELY LOW, AND THE HOUSING PROBLEM WILL
STILL BE DIFFICULT AND PAINFUL.

WE PLANNED INCREASE IN WAGES WITH REGARD TO THE NEEDS,
ESPECIALLY IN ONE CIRCUMSTANCE THAT WHAT IS INVOLVED IS AN
INCREASE OF AVERAGE WAGES, THAT IT WILL BE FOR SOME CATEGORIES
OF WORKING PEOPLE, AS IT IS DETERMINED BY THE CRAFT
RESOLUTION, ARE ABOVE ALL FOR THOSE EARNING LEAST, HIGHER THAN
THIRTY PERCENT, WHICH MEANS THAT IT WOULD BE CORRESPONDINGLY
LOWER FOR OTHERS.

THIS WILL BE AVE SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENT, ALTHOUGH NOT
AVE SUFFICIENT ONE.

OUR FIRST DESIRE, HOWEVER, THAT IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THIS
LEVEL WE WILL HAVE TO MAKE THE GREAT EFFORT.

THERE ARE CONSIDERABLE TASKS THAT IT BELONGS TO THE
QUALIFICATION OF PRODUCTION FORCES, TO HAD LIVING CONDITIONS
OF VARIOUS GROUPS OF WORKING PEOPLE, TO THE HEALY SUBSTANTIAL
HOUSING, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL NEEDS OF VARIOUS CATEGORIES, TO
BRING ABOUT AVE DECISION OF THE GOVERNMENT AND AVE RAPE
IMPROVEMENT.

SECRET/1957-01

PAR/1--20/7/56---1556-U - O C H A D - CONTINUED:

ALSO, THE QUESTION IS NOT AS SIMPLE AS THAT.

UNDOUBTEDLY THERE ARE IN POLAND MANY GRIEVANCES, NEGLECTS,
ERRORS AND SIMPLE FOOLISHNESS - QUESTIONS WHICH CAN AND SHOULD
BE SETTLED RAPIDLY AND EFFICIENTLY.

IT IS TO THESE QUESTIONS THAT BELONG THOSE OF WHICH WE
SPOKE PREVIOUSLY: THE QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO THE VIOLATION
OF LABOUR LEGISLATION, OF PROVISIONS OF WORK SECURITY, THE
NON-IMPLEMENTATION OF COMMITMENTS RESULTING FROM SOME
AGREEMENTS, VARIOUS INJUSTICES AND URGES OF EVERYDAY LIFE.

IN ALL THESE QUESTIONS ONE CAN AND ONE SHOULD DEMAND THEIR
SPEEDY SETTLEMENT, ONE CAN AND ONE SHOULD REMIND THAT THE
ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION SHOULD FIND IN AVE RELATIVELY SHORT
LAPSE OF TIME THE FONDS AND MATERIAL MEANS FOR THEIR SOLUTION.

BUT ONE WOULD SAY AT ONCE THAT FOR INSTANCE THE QUESTION
OF GENERAL WAGE INCREASES IS MUCH MORE COMPLICATED. FOR
THE CENTRE OF GRAVITY LIES IN AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF
GOODS WHICH PEOPLE WILL BE ABLE TO BUY ON THE MARKET. THESE
GOODS SHOULD EITHER BE PRODUCED IN THE COUNTRY OR IMPORTED IN
EXCHANGE FOR OTHER GOODS PRODUCED IN THE COUNTRY AND SOLD
ABROAD. WITHOUT THIS AN INCREASE IN NOMINAL WAGES DOES NOT
SIGNIFY AN IMPROVEMENT IN LIVING CONDITIONS BUT INFLATION
AND AVE WORSENING OF THE LIVING CONDITIONS. INFLATION,
MEANS FOOLING THE WORKERS, GIVING THEM ALLEGED WAGES WHICH IN
REALITY CORRESPOND LATER ON TO AVE LOWERING IN THE REAL STAND-
ARD OF LIVING.

OF COURSE, WE HAVE NOT THE SLIGHTEST INTENTION TO CONSENT
TO INFLATION WHATEVER ITS FORM, WE SHALL NOT ALLOW AN INCREASE
IN THE PRICES OF CONSUMER GOODS. QUITE ON THE CONTRARY WE ARE
UNDERTAKING AVE DETERMINED FIGHT AGAINST ALL HARMFUL PRACTICES
WHICH WERE APPLIED PARTICULARLY IN THE YEARS NINETEENTYFIVE
TO NINETEENTYFIFTYTHREE, PRACTICES WHICH AMOUNTED TO INCREASING
THE PRICES OF SOME ARTICLES UNDER VARIOUS PRETEXTS. WE
ARE COMMITTING OUR ECONOMIC ORGANS TO AVE STRICT OBSERVANCE
OF THE DISCIPLINE OF PRICES, TO SEE TO IT WITH UTMOST FIRMNESS
THAT THE PRICES OF THE SAME ARTICLES SHOULD REMAIN STABLE.

ONE MUST VISUALIZE THE COMPLETE SITUATION OF OUR COUNTRY
AND THE ACHIEVED LEVEL OF POLAND'S PRODUCTIVE FORCES. WAR
DESTRUCTIONS STILL CONSTITUTE FOR US AVE HEAVY BURDEN - WE ARE
STILL FACED WITH THE NECESSITY OF RECONSTRUCTING WHOLE SECTIONS
OF WARSAW, WROCLAW, KRAKOW AND SIEDLCE. WE ARE STILL BURDENED,
ALTHOUGH TO AVE SMALLER DEGREE, BY THE BACKWARDNESS INHERITED
FROM CAPITALISM. WE STILL MUST SPEND MANY THOUSANDS OF MILLIONS
TO ENSURE THE REFUGE OF OUR COUNTRY. WE STILL MUST SPEND MANY
THOUSANDS OF MILLIONS ON THE INVESTMENTS NECESSARY TO SECURE
THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR ECONOMY AS WELL AS WORK AND WELFARE FOR
THE RAPIDLY GROWING POPULATION OF OUR COUNTRY.

IF ONE BEARS IN MIND ALL THIS, ONE MUST STATE THAT THE
PLANNED INCREASE OF REAL WAGES BY THIRTY PERCENT DURING THE
FIVE YEAR PERIOD IS NOT IN THE LEAST AN EASY TASK.

IT IS AN EASY THING THAT IN OUR PARTY, IN THE MIDDLE

IN THE PRICES OF CONSUMER GOODS. QUITE ON THE CONTRARY WE ARE UNDERTAKING AN EXTENSIVE FIGHT AGAINST ALL WASTFUL PRACTICES WHICH WERE APPLIED PARTICULARLY IN THE YEARS NINETEENTYTHREE TO NINETEENTYFIVE, PRACTICES WHICH AMOUNTED TO INCREASING THE PRICES OF SOME ARTICLES UNDER VARIOUS PRETEXTS. WE ARE COMMITTING OUR ECONOMIC ORGANS TO A STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE DISCIPLINE OF PRICES, TO SEE TO IT WITH UTMOST FIRMNESS THAT THE PRICES OF THE SAME ARTICLES SHOULD REMAIN STABLE.

ONE MUST VISUALIZE THE CONCRETE SITUATION OF OUR COUNTRY AND THE ACHIEVED LEVEL OF POLAND'S PRODUCTIVE FORCES. WAR DESTRUCTIONS STILL CONSTITUTE FOR US A HEAVY BURDEN - WE ARE STILL FACED WITH THE NECESSITY OF RECONSTRUCTING WHOLE SECTIONS OF WARSAW, WROCLAW, CRASNA AND SIECZCIN. WE ARE STILL IMPHED, ALTHOUGH TO A SMALLER DEGREE, BY THE BACKWARDNESS INHERITED FROM CAPITALISM. WE STILL MUST SPEND MANY THOUSANDS OF MILLIONS TO ENSURE THE DEFENCE OF OUR COUNTRY. WE STILL MUST SPEND MANY THOUSANDS OF MILLIONS ON THE INVESTMENTS NECESSARY TO SECURE THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR ECONOMY AS WELL AS WORK AND BREAD FOR THE RAPIDLY GROWING POPULATION OF OUR COUNTRY.

IF ONE WEARS IN MIND ALL THIS, ONE MUST STATE THAT THE PLANNED INCREASE OF REAL WAGES BY THIRTY PERCENT DURING THE FIVEYEAR PERIOD IS NOT IN THE LEAST AN EASY TASK.

IT IS A GOOD THING THAT IN OUR PARTY, IN THE WHOLE COMMUNITY, SENSITIVITY TO WASTEFULNESS HAS CONSIDERABLY INCREASED, THIS TESTIFIES TO THE MATURING OF THE SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS OF OUR COMMUNITY, TO THE FACT THAT EVER MORE PEOPLE IN POLAND CONSIDER SOCIALIST PROPERTY, SOCIAL PROPERTY, AS THEIR OWN PROPERTY.

(MORE)

PAP/1-1-1956-1956-SCB - O C H A S CONTINUED

OUR PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, ALL OUR COMPANIES SHOULD COMBAT EVERY MANIFESTATION OF WASTEFULNESS BROUGHT TO LIGHT, SIGNAL ALL FACTS OF WASTEFULNESS, WITH WHICH THEY CANNOT DEAL EFFECTIVELY IN THEIR OWN MEANS, FIGHT FOR CONSCIENCE, FOR PROPER AND PROPER PLANNING AND PROPER MANAGEMENT IN ALL FIELDS OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY.

ONE MUST, HOWEVER, BE AWARE OF THE FACT THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT SOURCES OF WASTEFULNESS ARE TO BE FOUND IN THE DISPROPORTIONATE DISPROPORTIONS IN PRODUCTION FORCES, INHERITED BY US FROM THE CAPITALIST ECONOMY, ARISING FROM WAR DESTRUCTIONS, DISPROPORTIONS WHICH GREW IN THE COURSE OF THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF THE LAST FEW YEARS, AS WELL AS IN THE TECHNICAL BACKWARDNESS OF WHOLE BRANCHES OF PRODUCTION. IF FOR INSTANCE THE PRODUCTION OF THE ENGINEERING INDUSTRY IS HINDERED BY THE LACK OF CASTS AND FORGED PIECES, NO DESIGN AND NOT EVEN THE SHAPPEST PRODUCT WILL SUFFICE. ONE MUST EXPAND THE TOWNSHIPS AND THE FORGES NOTHING FOR THIS INDUSTRY. THERE IS NO OTHER WAY. BUT THIS REQUIRES FUNDS AND SOME TIME. IF FOR EXAMPLE WE HAVE IN MANY PRODUCTIONS ESTABLISHMENTS ANTIGATED AND LITTLE EFFICIENT WORKERS USING US A GREAT AMOUNT OF COAL, THIS IS A SERIOUS SOURCE OF WASTEFULNESS. THE ROAD TO IMPROVEMENT LEADS THROUGH THE MODERNIZATION OF THESE INSTALLATIONS - AN INDISPENSABLE AND HIGHLY PROFITABLE OPERATION, BUT WHICH REQUIRES INVESTMENTS, EQUIPMENT AND SPECIALISTS, AND WHICH CAN BE CARRIED OUT ONLY GRADUALLY.

WASTEFULNESS IS AN INDISPENSABLE AND HIGHLY PROFITABLE OPERATION, BUT WHICH REQUIRES INVESTMENTS, EQUIPMENT AND SPECIALISTS, AND WHICH CAN BE CARRIED OUT ONLY GRADUALLY.

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INSTALLATIONS - AN INDISPENSABLE AND HIGHLY PROFITABLE OPERATION, BUT WHICH REQUIRES INVESTMENTS, EQUIPMENT AND SPECIALISTS, AND WHICH CAN BE CARRIED OUT ONLY GRADUALLY.

UNDOUBTED

Y, THE PRODUCTION FORCES CREATED BY US DURING THE FIVEYEAR PERIOD, AND WHICH ARE NOT UTILIZED TO THE FULL EXTENT EVEN TO THIS DAY, CONTAIN IMPORTANT RESERVES WHICH CAN BRING GREAT ADVANTAGES AT A RELATIVELY LOW COST.

ONE INSTRUCTIVE EXAMPLE SHOULD BE CITED HERE.

TUNTIL RECENTLY THE LEAD METALLURGICAL WORKS PRODUCED FOR EXPORT STEEL BLOOMS - A PRODUCT TURNED OUT BY BLOWING MILLS. IN EFFORT WE OBTAINED SOME ONEHUNDRED DOLLARS FOR ONE TON OF THIS PRODUCT. AT PRESENT, AFTER STARTING THE HOT ROLLING MILL WE OBTAIN FOR THE SAME BLOOMS, ROLLED AT THAT MILL, BETWEEN ONEHUNDRENTWENTY AND ONEHUNDRENTWENTY DOLLARS PER TON. AFTER THE SHEET COLD ROLLING MILL GOES INTO PRODUCTION NEXT YEAR, THE SAME BLOOMS, AFTER BEING REROLLED ONCE AGAIN, WILL BRING US FOURHUNDRENTWENTY DOLLARS PER TON. IS IT PROFITABLE TO MAKE INVESTMENTS IN A SHEET COLD ROLLING MILL? YES, OF COURSE. BUT THE POINT IS THAT BEFORE A COLD ROLLING MILL IS CONSTRUCTED ONE MUST HAVE BOTH OPENHEARTH FURNACES, BLOWING MILLS AND A HOT ROLLING MILL. OTHERWISE THE COLD MILL WOULD HAVE NOTHING TO ROLL.

A SIMILAR SITUATION EXISTS IN MANY OTHER BRANCHES OF OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY.

WE HAVE CONSIDERABLE UNAPPED RESERVES WHICH ARE THE RESULT OF VARIOUS EXISTING DISPROPORTIONS. WE SHALL BE ABLE TO MAKE USE OF THESE RESERVES COMPARATIVELY QUICKLY AS THE LIQUIDATION OF THE BOTTLE, OBSTRUCTING THE UTILIZATION OF THESE RESERVES PROCEEDS.

THAT IS WHY WE PUT FORWARD AS, OF THE BASIC TASKS OF THE FIVE YEAR PLAN THE TASKS GRADUALLY BUT SYSTEMATICALLY, WITH ALL ENERGY, TO LIQUIDATE DISPROPORTIONS IN OUR INDUSTRY, TO ENSURE THE MOST EFFICIENT AND RATIONAL UTILIZATION OF ALL PRODUCTION POSSIBILITIES.

THIS IS AN INDISPENSABLE PREREQUISITE OF AN INCREASE IN INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT OF BETWEEN FIFTYTHREE AND FIFTYSEVEN PER CENT ENVISAGED IN THE FIVE YEAR PLAN AND CONSTITUTING THE BASIS

PAP/11-28/75-1089-01 - O C H A D - CONTINUED

FOR EXAMPLE, LET US CONSIDER COAL MINING.

COAL CONSTITUTES, AS IS KNOWN, NEARLY HALF OF OUR EXPORTS, AND MAKES THIS POSSIBLE FOR US, AT THE SAME TIME, TO IMPORT IN EXCHANGE SUCH RAW MATERIALS AS COTTON, WOOL, WHEAT AND ALL KINDS OF PIGS(1), ALL OF WHICH ARE SO VERY IMPORTANT FOR THE LIVING STANDARDS. WITHOUT IMPLEMENTING THE PLAN OF COAL EXTRACTION THERE CAN BE TALK(2) OF ENSURING AYE THIRTY PER CENT RISE IN THE LIVING STANDARDS THIS YEAR, HOWEVER, WE ARE IN DANGER OF NOT FULLY IMPLEMENTING THE COAL EXTRACTION PLAN, WHICH, COMBINED WITH AN INCREASE IN THE CONSUMPTION OF COAL ON THE HOME MARKET, LEADS TO EXCEPTIONALLY GREAT DIFFICULTIES IN FOREIGN TRADE. WE CAN OBSERVE IN COAL MINING, AS IN SOME OTHER BRANCHES OF INDUSTRY, TOO, AYE CERTAIN LOOSENING OF LABOUR DISCIPLINE. THIS FACT ENDANGERS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PRODUCTION PLANS, WHICH, IN TURN, WOULD BE BOUND TO CAUSE NOT AYE RISE BUT AYE FALL IN THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE.

OUR PARTY ORGANIZATIONS MUST BEAR IN MIND THE EXISTENCE OF THIS DANGER, ESPECIALLY IN THE COAL MINING DISTRICTS, AND SHOULD STRUGGLE RESOLUTELY FOR AYE MODEL LABOUR DISCIPLINE AS AYE FUNDAMENTAL CONDITION OF AN INCREASE IN PRODUCTION AND REAL WAGES.

WE SHOULD RECALL TO PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND THE WORKING MASSES THE SOVIET EXPERIENCES AND THE TEACHINGS OF GREAT LENIN, WHO IN MANY OCCASIONS STRESSED THE EXCEPTIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF AN IRON DISCIPLINE OF LABOUR FOR SUCCESSFUL SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION.

LET US RECALL SOME OF THE DIRECTIVES GIVEN BY LENIN IN HIS ARTICLE "THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT" WHICH APPEARED IN PRINT IN APRIL, NINETEENTHTEENTH. HE SAYS THERE: "IT MUST CONSOLIDATE WHAT WE OURSELVES HAVE WON, WHAT WE OURSELVES HAVE DECREED, MADE LAW, DISCUSSED, PLANNED - CONSOLIDATE ALL THIS IN STABLE FORMS OF EVERYDAY LABOUR DISCIPLINE. THIS IS THE MOST DIFFICULT, BUT THE MOST STATEFUL TASK, BECAUSE ONLY ITS FULFILLMENT WILL GIVE US SOCIALIST CONDITIONS. WE MUST LEARN TO CONDUCT THE "PUBLIC MEETING" DEMOCRACY OF THE COLLING(3) MASSES - THROUGHOUT, SURVEILLING, OVERSEING ITS TASKS LIKE AYE SPRING FLOCK - WITH IRON DISCIPLINE WHILE AT WORK, WITH UNWAVERING OBEDIENCE TO THE WILL OF AYE SINGLE PERSON, THE SOVIET LEADER, WHILE AT WORK".

THE STRUGGLE FOR AYE MODEL LABOUR DISCIPLINE IS ALSO IN POLAND AN INDISPENSABLE PREREQUISITE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR DIFFICULT AND STRAINED ECONOMIC PLANS, BUT IF THE PLAN IS DIFFICULT DOES IT MEAN THAT WE SHALL BY NO MEANS BE ABLE TO SURPASS THE LIMIT OF AYE THIRTY PERCENT RISE IN LIVING STANDARDS? OUR ASSERTION WOULD BE UNWISDOM. WE HAVE FIXED AN INDEX OF AN IMPROVEMENT OF THE STANDARD OF LIVING BASED OURSELVES ON AYE REALISTIC APPRAISAL OF EXISTING POSSIBILITIES AS WE SEE THEM TODAY. IT WOULD BE WRONG TO MAINTAIN THAT WE HAVE ALREADY EXHAUSTED ALL POSSIBILITIES. THE INITIATIVE OF THE MASSES, THEIR EFFORT AT WORK, THE TALENTS AND KNOWLEDGE OF OUR ECONOMIC LEADERS MUST BRING OUT STILL MORE RESERVES. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE LOOSENING OF LABOUR DISCIPLINE, WASTE ECONOMY AND NEGLIGENCE CAN DIMINISH OUR POSSIBILITIES ON WHICH WE HAVE BASED OUR ECONOMIC PLANS.

LET US TAKE AYE CONCRETE EXAMPLES DURING THE APRIL CONFERENCE OF HANSAW ACTIVISTS WHO SAID ON BEHALF OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE THAT THE PAY INCREASES WHICH THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE ABLE TO PUT INTO EFFECT THIS YEAR CANNOT SURPASS THE TOTAL OF FIVETHOUSANDBILLION ZLOTYS ON THE ANNUAL SCALE. IN REALITY THE PAY INCREASES ALREADY EFFECTED TOGETHER WITH THOSE TO BE EFFECTED IN THE NEAR FUTURE, WILL EXCEED THE TOTAL OF SEVENTHUSANDBILLION ZLOTYS ON THE ANNUAL SCALE. WHY WERE WE ABLE TO SURPASS THE PREVIOUSLY DRAFTED UPPER LIMIT OF PAY INCREASES? (H O R Z)

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FIRST OF ALL IT IS DUE TO THE FACT THAT PLANNED TASKS IN ANIMAL BREEDING, AND, IN TURN, IN THE PURCHASE OF PIGS AND CATTLE, WERE CONSIDERABLY SURPASSED, WERE CONSIDERABLY SURPASSED, WHICH MADE IT POSSIBLE TO PUT ON THE MARKET THIS YEAR TENS OF THOUSANDS OF TONS OF MEAT OVERPLAN. THIS GAVE US IN COMMODITIES WITH THAT TO MEET THE OVERPLAN PAY INCREASES.

IN OTHER WORDS, THE INCREASE IN ANIMAL BREEDING ABOVE THE LEVEL PROVIDED FOR IN THE PLAN BROUGHT ADDITIONAL REVENUE TO THE COUNTRY, AND AT THE SAME TIME ENABLED US TO IMPROVE THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE ALSO IN TOWNS.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY, IMPROVED CONSIDERABLY DURING THE PAST THREE YEARS SINCE OUR AGRICULTURAL AND ANIMAL PRODUCTION INCREASED, THE REAL INCOMES OF WORKING PEASANTS ARE INCREASING FROM YEAR TO YEAR.

THE CORRECT DECISIONS OF THE SECOND CONGRESS AND OF THE FIFTH PLENUM OF OUR PARTY, THE SETTING INTO MOTION OF NEW MATERIAL INCENTIVES FOR THE DEVELOPING OF PRODUCTION ON COOPERATIVE FARMS AND ON INDIVIDUAL FARMSTAYS, THE STRENGTHENING IN THE PEASANT MASSES OF THEIR FAITH IN THE STABILIZATION OF THE SITUATION, THE KEEPING OF THE WORD GIVEN BY THE GOVERNMENT THAT THE BURDENS OF THE COUNTRY WOULD NOT INCREASE, ALL THAT CONTRIBUTED TO AYE MORE RAPID INCREASE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN THE YEARS NINETEENTHTEEN TO NINETEENTHTEEN SIXTY THAN DURING THE PREVIOUS PERIOD.

OF GREAT IMPORTANCE IS THE FACT, CONFIRMED BY THE RESULTS OF THE JUNE AGRICULTURAL CENSUS, OF AN INCREASE IN THE CATTLE POPULATION AND IN THE NUMBER OF PIGS BY SOME SIX PERCENT AS COMPARED WITH LAST YEAR DESPITE THE FACT THAT LAST YEAR POTATO CROPS WERE BELOW AVERAGE AND THAT WE EVEN FEARED AYE CERTAIN DROP IN THE NUMBER OF PIGS. THIS INCREASE SHOWS THAT THE

THE AGRICULTURAL SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY IN THE PREVIOUS PERIOD. DURING THE PAST THREE YEARS SECTORIAL AGRICULTURAL AND ANIMAL PRODUCTION INCREASED, THE REAL INCOMES OF WORKING PEASANTS ARE INCREASING FROM YEAR TO YEAR.

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OF GREAT IMPORTANCE IS THE FACT, CONFIRMED BY THE RESULTS OF THE JUNE AGRICULTURAL CENSUS, OF AN INCREASE IN THE CATTLE POPULATION AND IN THE NUMBER OF PIGS BY SOME SIX PERCENT AS COMPARED WITH LAST YEAR DESPITE THE FACT THAT LAST YEARS POTATO CROPS WERE BELOW AVERAGE AND THAT WE EVEN FEARED A CERTAIN DROP IN THE NUMBER OF PIGS. THIS INCREASE SHOWS THAT THE MATERIAL INCENTIVES SET INTO MOTION IN THE AUTUMN OF NINETEENFIFTYFIVE GAVE THE DESIRED ECONOMIC EFFECTS.

OUR WHOLE NATION IS VITALLY INTERESTED IN THE FURTHER GREAT TEST POSSIBLE INCREASE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION. WE SHALL CONSISTENTLY REMOVE ALL OBSTACLES ON THE ROAD TOWARDS THE REALIZATION OF THE TASKS SET BEFORE AGRICULTURE BY THE FIFTH PLENUM OF OUR PARTY.

(MODE)

PM/1---32/7/56---1628-MI - O C H A D --- CONTINUED

THE DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE SEVENTH PLENUM DEFINES A NUMBER OF SUPPLEMENTARY TASKS IN THE STRUGGLE TO ENSURE AN INCREASE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND DRAWS ATTENTION TO THE NECESSITY OF ELIMINATING COMPLETELY THE PRACTICE, HERETOFORE IN MANY REGIONS, OF COUNTING THE UPPER LAYER OF MIDDLE HOLDERS AS KULAKS, A MEASURE OF ADVENTURIST PRESSURE APPLIED TO KULAK FARMSTADS IN A MORE HARMFUL TO THEIR PRODUCTION.

THE DRAFT RESOLUTION CORRECTLY DEFINES THAT ONE SHOULD CONSIDER AS AN KULAK ANY PERSON WHO CONSTANTLY EXPLOITS THE WORK OF OTHER PEOPLE IN THE FORM OF SYSTEMATIC HIRING OF HIS POWER OR IN THE FORM OF WORKING OFF, CONSTANTLY PRACTISING USURY AND SPECULATION.

THE DRAFT RESOLUTION CORRECTLY RECOGNIZES THE OPENING OF THE POSSIBILITY TO SECURE MIDDLE HOLDERS TO THOSE KULAKS WHO ARE NOT ABLE TO WORK ALL THE LAND POSSESSED BY THEM OR ARE RELUCTANT TO DIVIDING THEIR FARMSTAD AS AMONG THEIR ADULT CHILDREN.

THE OPPOSING OF ADVENTURIST TENDENCIES WITH REGARD TO THE KULAKS, THE CREATION ALSO FOR KULAK FARMSTADS OF THE POSSIBILITY OF UTILIZING THEIR FULL PRODUCTION CAPACITY, THE BROADENING OF CONTRACT AGREEMENTS WITH KULAK FARMSTADS, ETC. DOES NOT OF COURSE MODIFY THE FUNDAMENTAL GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF OUR POLICY IN THE COUNTRYSIDE.

WE MUST CONTINUE TO WORK PERSISTENTLY SO THAT OUR PARTY, BASED ITSELF ON THE POOR PEASANTS AND ALLIED TO THE MIDDLE HOLDERS SHOULD SHAPE THE LINE AND THE DOGS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE AND SHOULD RESIST WITH DETERMINATION ANTICAPITAL AND ANTICOOPERATIVE OUTBURSTS OF VARIOUS REMNANTS OF BUREAUCRATIC PARTISANSHIP.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR PROPAGANDA WILL BE ALL THE GREATER THE MORE CONSISTENTLY AND BEAUVOLLY WE ORGANIZE PROGRESSIVE AND CULTURAL ASSISTANCE FOR SMALL AND MIDDLE HOLDERS, AND PARTICULARLY FOR COOPERATIVE FARMS.

AMONG OTHER THINGS, WE SHOULD CARE MORE EXAMINE IN DETAIL THE POSSIBILITY OF A FURTHER INCREASE IN THE SUPPLY OF BUILDING MATERIALS FOR THE COUNTRYSIDE, ENSURE IN FULL COAL DELIVERIES FOR PEASANTS ON THE BASIS OF CONTRACT AGREEMENTS, EFFECT A CHANGE IN THE MODE OF DISTRIBUTION OF ARTIFICIAL FERTILIZERS, AS IT IS PROVIDED FOR IN THE DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE PLENUM, THAT IS IN PRINCIPLE ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF DECTARES FROM WHICH THE PEASANTS HAVE THEIR QUOTA BELIEVED, NATURALLY NOT FORGETTING THE ALLOCATION OF AN ADEQUATE PORTION OF FERTILIZERS FOR PEASANTS AND PASTURES AND OTHER IMPORTANT PURPOSES.

THE REVENUES OF THE COUNTRYSIDE INCREASE WITH THE GROWTH OF AGRICULTURAL COMMODITY PRODUCTION, BUT THE PEASANTS, AWARE OF OUR CONCERN FOR AN INCREASE OF THE REAL WAGES OF THE WORKING CLASS, ALSO EXPECT FURTHER ASSISTANCE ON THE PART OF THE STATE.

WE ARE OF THE OPINION THAT THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE COMMISSION ESTABLISHED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ARE IN PRINCIPLE CORRECT, TO ELIMINATE IN THE NEAR FUTURE THE QUOTA DELIVERIES OF WHEAT, WHICH WOULD SIGNIFY A REDUCTION IN THE PRESTATIONS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE TO THE STATE BY MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED MILLION ZLOTYS ANNUALLY, AND WOULD AT THE SAME TIME PROMOTE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT.

(MODE)-1628-MI

PM/1---32/7/56---1628-MI - O C H A D --- CONTINUED

THE LIQUIDATION OF THE QUOTA DELIVERIES OF WHEAT WILL PUT FORWARD WITH PARTICULAR SHARPNESS THE PROBLEM OF STRICTLY SEEING TO IT THAT THE REMAINING QUOTA DELIVERIES: GRAIN, BEET AND POTATOES BE IMPLEMENTED IN FULL AND IN THE PRESCRIBED TIME.

WE EXPECT THAT THE PLENUM WILL DEVOTE MUCH ATTENTION TO THESE PROBLEMS, PARTICULARLY DURING THE DISCUSSION OF THE FIVEYEAR PLAN.

WHILE REALIZING THIS PROGRAMME OF ASSISTANCE OF THE STATE FOR POLISH AGRICULTURE WE CANNOT FOR A MOMENT FORGET OUR

TO LIQUIDATE IN THE NEAR FUTURE THE QUOTA DELIVERIES OF MILK, WHICH WOULD SIGNIFY A REDUCTION IN THE PREPARATIONS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE TO THE STATE BY MORE THAN ONE THOUSAND MILLION ZLOTYS ANNUALLY, AND WOULD AT THE SAME TIME PROMOTE ANIMAL BREEDING.

(MORE) - 1645-07

VVPAP/1---20/7/55---1645-07 - O C H A B --- CONTINUED:
THE LIQUIDATION OF THE QUOTA DELIVERIES OF MILK WILL PUT FORTH WITH PARTICULAR SHARPNESS THE PROBLEM OF STRICTLY SEEING TO IT THAT THE REMAINING QUOTA DELIVERIES: CHAFF, MEAT AND POTATOES BE IMPLEMENTED IN FULL AND IN THE PRESCRIBED TIME.

EYE EXPECT THAT THE PLENUM WILL DEVOTE MUCH ATTENTION TO THESE PROBLEMS, PARTICULARLY DURING THE DISCUSSION OF THE FIVEYEAR PLAN.

WHILE REALIZING THIS PROGRAMME OF ASSISTANCE OF THE STATE FOR POLISH AGRICULTURE WE CANNOT FOR AYE FORGET OUR FUNDAMENTAL TASK, THE NECESSITY OF THE FURTHER SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF THE COUNTRYSIDE ON THE BASIS OF COOPERATIVE FARMING.

WHILE EMBODYING INTO LIFE FURTHER PLANS AIMED AT BRINGING ASSISTANCE TO WORKING PEASANTS - BOTH INDIVIDUAL PEASANTS AND COOPERATIVE FARMERS - PLANS CONTAINED IN THE DRAFT RESOLUTION OF OUR PLENUM, WE HAVE CERTAIN POSSIBILITIES OF ACHIEVING AYE SUPPLEMENTARY INCREASE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION.

DO SUCH PRESERVES EXIST ALSO IN OTHER DOMAINS OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY? EYE WOULD LIKE TO POINT TO SEVERAL OF THEM.

WE ARE PREPARING ESSENTIAL CHANGES IN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY. WE WANT TO SIMPLIFY THE SYSTEM OF ADMINISTERING INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE, MERGE THE EXISTING DEPARTMENTS AND INCREASE THE PREROGATIVES OF MINISTERS, FREE THE STATE COMMISSION FOR ECONOMIC PLANNING FROM FIELDWORK, SOLICIT ADVANCE IN THE DIRECTION OF DECENTRALIZING ADMINISTRATION, AMONG OTHER THINGS THE WAY OF PUTTING LOCAL INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF PEOPLES COUNCILS. WE SHALL CONSIDERABLY LIMIT THE NUMBER OF PLANNED INDICES, LEAVING MORE ROOM FOR THE INITIATIVE OF THOSE WHO RUN THE VARIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS. WE SHALL IMPROVE THE SYSTEM OF GRANTING BOUNTIES, STRIVING TO AYE FULLER UTILIZATION OF MATERIAL INCENTIVES FOR THE ESTABLISHMENTS DIRECTORS AND THE WHOLE PERSONNEL. WE SHALL INCREASE THE INFLUENCE OF TRADE UNIONS ON THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK IN FACTORIES, ESPECIALLY FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE STRICT OBSERVANCE OF WORK SAFETY AND HYGIENE REGULATIONS. AMONGST OF LABOUR LEGISLATION. WE SHALL STRIVE TO CONSIDERABLY INCREASE, DIRECTLY IN THE VARIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS, THE STOCKPILES OF RAW MATERIALS INDISPENSABLE FOR RATIONAL PRODUCTION.

SHOULD NOT ALL THIS YIELD DIRECT ECONOMIC RESULTS - AN INCREASE IN PRODUCTION, AYE WIDENING OF THE RANGE OF GOODS ON THE MARKET, THE UTILIZATION OF PRODUCTION CAPACITY RESERVES AND ECONOMIES IN RAW MATERIALS? IT SHOULD YIELD IT INDEED. WHILE DRAFTING THE PLAN WE BASED OURSELVES ON RAISER CAUTIOUS ESTIMATES, FOR WE WERE GUIDED BY THE PRINCIPLE THAT WHAT PERTAINS TO THE LIVING STANDARDS SHOULD BE ENSURED IN AYE MOST REALISTIC MANNER.

(MORE) - 1650-01

PAP/1---20/7/55---1701-01 - O C H A B - CONTINUED:

THIS IS OF COURSE AYE CORRECT PRINCIPLE, FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE WOULD HOLD NOTHING FORE AGAINST US THAN UNFULFILLED PROMISES.

IF OUR PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, AVAILING THEMSELVES IN EVERYWAY PRACTICE OF THEIR STATUTORY RIGHT TO CONTROL THE ACTIVITY OF THE ADMINISTRATION, IF THEY ARE ABLE TO SEE TO IT THAT THE POSSIBILITIES CREATED BY RENDERING MORE EFFICIENT ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION ARE FULLY UTILIZED, IF THEY ARE ABLE TO DEVELOP AYE BROAD MOVEMENT OF THE UTILIZATION OF THESE POSSIBILITIES IF THEY DEVELOP WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF TRADE UNIONS THE LABOUR COMPETITION MOVEMENT, IF THEY ARE ABLE PERSEVERINGLY AND EFFECTIVELY TO BREAK DOWN BUREAUCRATIC OBSTACLES IN VARIOUS DOMAINS OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY - THEN UNDOUBTEDLY PRODUCTION WILL INCREASE MORE THAN WE ARE EXPECTING AND THE LIVING STANDARDS COULD BE RAISED STILL FURTHER.

WE ARE ELIMINATING IN THE MINING INDUSTRY THE "EXTRACTION SUNDAYS". WE ARE SUBTRACTING FROM THE PLAN OF COAL EXTRACTION IN NINETEENFIFTYSEVEN AND EIGHTEENFIFTYEIGHT THOSE QUANTITIES WHICH SO FAR WERE EXTRACTED ON SUNDAY SERVICES BUT SHOULD NOT BE ENSURING TO THE MINERS OF AYE FULL SUNDAY REST GIVE AS AYE RESULT AN INCREASE IN THEIR LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY OF SIMPLE WEEK DAYS. MOST ASSURELY YES. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT RESERVE FOR THE INCREASE IN THE EXTRACTION OF COAL, THAT IS OF AYE PRODUCT WHICH - WHETHER DIRECTED ON THE HOME MARKET OR FOR EXPORT - HAS AYE CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE ON THE LIVING STANDARDS.

OF COURSE, THIS INCREASE IN LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY WILL NOT COME OF ITSELF. IT WILL BE BROUGHT ABOUT IF OUR MINERS PROFIT BY THE ACHIEVEMENT OF "EXTRACTION SUNDAYS" TO IMPROVE THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK IN THE MINES, TO EFFECT INDISPENSABLE REPAIRS IN TIME AND TO PREVENT BREAK DOWNS AND IDLE RUNNING OF MACHINES, IF OUR PARTY ORGANIZATIONS WILL HELP THE MINERS TO INCREASE OUTPUT ON WEEKDAYS AND TO RAISE LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY.

DURING THE SIX YEAR PLAN WE FRAMED NUMEROUS CADRES OF EXPERTS - QUALIFIED WORKERS, TECHNICIANS AND ENGINEERS. THE PERSONNEL OF OUR FACTORIES INCREASED ALMOST TWOFOLD DURING THAT

THE PROGRESS OF THE EXTRACTING OF COAL, WHICH IS THE MAIN COMPETITION MOVEMENT, IF THEY ARE ABLE TO OVERCOME IT AND EFFECTIVELY TO BREAK DOWN BUREAUCRATIC OBSTACLES IN VARIOUS DOMAINS OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY - THEN UNDOUBTEDLY PRODUCTION WILL INCREASE MORE THAN WE ARE EXPECTING AND THE LIVING STANDARDS COULD BE RAISED STILL FURTHER.

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IT IS CLEAR THAT DURING THE FIRST FEW YEARS OF THE SIX YEAR PLAN THESE PEOPLE WERE ONLY MAINTAINING THEIR RESPECTIVE FUNCTIONS.

THE YOUTHFULNESS OF THE PERSONNEL IN OUR BIG NEW INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS IS AVE GREAT SOCIAL GAIN OF OUR SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION, AVE PROOF THAT MANY HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE HAVE STARTED QUALIFIED, HIGHLY EFFICIENT AND WELL TRAINED(?) PRODUCTION WORK WHICH IS OF THE UTMOST VALUE FOR THE COUNTRY.

BUT THIS YOUTHFULNESS MEANT AT THE SAME TIME UNDOUBTEDLY AVE COMPARATIVELY LOWER LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY, MACHINES WERE NOT ALWAYS HANDLED IN AVE CAREFUL MANNER, RAW MATERIALS AND PRODUCTS WERE NOT ALWAYS UTILIZED PROPERLY. THESE YOUNG WORKERS ONLY BEGAN TO ACQUIRE PROPER LABOUR HABITS, AND AT PRESENT THEY ENTER THEIR MAJORITY AGE WITH REGARD TO VOCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS. THEIR WORK AND PRODUCTION EXPERIENCE, THEIR KNOWLEDGE AND DEVOTION TO THEIR RESPECTIVE WORK ESTABLISHMENTS ARE GROWING WITH EVERY PASSING YEAR. THERE WILL BE EVER FEWER NEW CONCERNS IN THE FACTORIES BECAUSE THEIR DEMAND FOR HANDOVER HAS ALREADY BEEN MET TO AVE CONSIDERABLE DEGREE.

SHOULD NOT ALL THIS BRING ABOUT IMPORTANT RESULTS AS FAR AS LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY, THE USE UTILIZATION OF TOOLS, ECONOMIES IN RAW MATERIALS AND ELECTRIC POWER, AS WELL AS THE QUALITY OF PRODUCTION ARE CONCERNED?

(M O R E) -1712-01

PAP/1---20/7/50---1712-01 - C O C H A D --- CONTINUED ---

AND HERE AGAIN WE MUST REMEMBER THAT THESE POSSIBILITIES HAVE BEEN RATHER CAUTIOUSLY ASSESSED IN THE PLAN.

IT WILL DEPEND ON THE WORKERS AND OUR PARTY ORGANIZATIONS WHICH DIRECT THESE WORKERS, ON OUR POLICY, ON THE WISE USE MADE OF MATERIAL FACTORS, WHETHER THE IMPROVEMENT OF QUALIFICATION OF THE WORKERS WOULD BRING ABOUT AVE CONSIDERABLE INCREASE IN THE QUANTITY AND IMPROVEMENT OF THE QUALITY OF PRODUCTION AND WHETHER IT WILL CREATE ADDITIONAL POSSIBILITIES OF AVE RISE IN LIVING STANDARDS.

THE TASKS OF THE PLAN ARE NOT EASY, BUT THERE EXIST FULL POSSIBILITIES NOT ONLY OF THEIR IMPLEMENTATION BUT ALSO OF THEIR OVERFULFILLMENT.

ALL THIS DEPENDS ON US, ON OUR CORRECT POLICY, ON OUR ORGANIZATIONAL WORK, ON THE DISCIPLINED, SELFLESS LABOUR OF WORKERS, FOREMEN AND ENGINEERS.

IT IS AVE PROBLEM OF THE STAMINA AND PERSISTENCE(?) OF OUR PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, OF ALL OUR COMRADES, IN THE STRUGGLE FOR IMPLEMENTING AND OVERFULFILLING THE PLANS, FOR INCREASING THE ACTIVITIES AND CREATIVE INITIATIVE OF THE MASSES.

THE TASKS OUTLINED BY THE FIVE YEAR PLAN, THE TASKS OF RAISING THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE IN OUR COUNTRY BY THIRTY PER CENT AND INCREASING INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION BY FIFTYTHREE TO FIFTYSEVEN PER CENT, ARE DIFFICULT BUT REALISTIC.

THEY CAN BE IMPLEMENTED AND EVEN OVERFULFILLED IF WE START IN AVE LEARNER WAY THE GREAT WORK OF ORGANIZING THE MASSES FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS PLAN.

(M O R E) -1712-01

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MORE COMING LATER

12. 2001. 111 AVE RAIN AND CONSISTENT MAXIMUM TO ADDRESS ALL

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DESPITE ALL THE POSITIVE RESULTS OF THIS CRITICISM, DESPITE THE NUMBER OF INITIATIVE, DESPITE THE MANY JUST PROPOSALS AND REFORMS, THE CRITICISM OF PATRIOTIC CONSCIENCE WHICH THE BURGE OF POLITICAL ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE COUNTRY HAS DEMAND, WE MUST NOT TURN A BLIND EYE TO THE NEGATIVE SIDES OF THIS PROCESS.

REGARDING ON A NEW COURSE, THE PARTY LEADERSHIP SHOULD HAVE BEEN IN LINE THAT DOMESTIC IDEOLOGY STILL EXISTS A NO SMALL DISTANCE OF OUR CONSCIENCE, THAT NATIONALISTIC AND AUTOCRATIC TENDS AND PREJUDICES ARE STILL IN FORCE IN SOME COUNTRIES, THAT WE ARE IN A DIFFICULT ECONOMIC SITUATION, DEMOCRATIZATION, FREEDOM OF CRITICISM OFFER UP THE DOOR TO ACTIVITIES NOT ONLY TO PARTY AND MINORITY PEOPLE, INSPIRED BY COUNTRY FOR SINCERE ACTING, BUT ALSO OFFER UP CERTAIN POSSIBILITIES OF DELIVERING TO RETROGRADE, REAG TENDENCY, PERVER DOMESTIC, ANARCHIST AND UTOPIAN TENDS.

THE FACT THAT THE PARTY LEADERSHIP HAS FAILED TO TAKE INTO SUFFICIENT CONSIDERATION THE ALIGNMENT OF POLITICAL FORCES IN CONDITIONS OF ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES, THE GREAT GAINS CAUSED BY THE REVELATION OF THE BOTTEN TRUTH ABOUT THE STATE CONSEQUENCES OF THE CRIM OF THE INDIVIDUAL, IN THE REVELATIONS OF THE TRUTH ABOUT

THE PROVOCATION TO WHICH THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF POLAND WILL VICTIM, EXHIBITS A NEGATIVE DEFICIENCY ON THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE COUNTRY AND BECAUSE ONE OF THE CAUSES OF OUR BEING TAKEN AWAY BY THE TRADING INCIDENTS IN POLAND.

IT MUST BE ESSENTIALLY STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT THE POLISH INCIDENTS CANNOT CONSTITUTE ANY JUSTIFICATION FOR ANY ATTEMPT WHATSOEVER OF TURNING BACK THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION. THE POLISH INCIDENTS PROVE NOT LITTLE WE HAVE GONE SO FAR THAT TO OVERCOME THE ECONOMIC SITUATIONS IN OUR STATE, ESPECIALLY IN THE FIELD OF SUCH SENSITIVE IMPORTANCE AS THE RELATIONS IN SOCIALIST WORK ESTABLISHMENTS.

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ON THE OTHER HAND, THE POLISH INCIDENTS PROVE THAT THE COURSE TOWARDS DEMOCRATIZATION CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO AVE CANTABLE, SPONTANEOUS HANDS, WITHOUT TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THE FACT THAT THE CLASS STRUGGLE IS STILL GOING ON IN POLAND, THAT THE CLASS ENEMY STILL EXERTS HIS INFLUENCE AND THAT HE WILL USE EVERY FISHING, EVERY WEAPONS, EVERY MEAN DIFFICULTY IN OUR SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION TO OBSTRUCT OUR MARCH TOWARDS SOCIALISM.

THIS SHOWS THAT THE PROCESS OF THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE COUNTRY CANNOT CONSIST MERELY IN AVE DRIVE AGAINST RED TAP, AGAINST THE BIG BOSS COMPLEX, AGAINST THE HANGOVERS AND SUPPRESSION OF CRITICISM, AGAINST UNREACTED OF SOCIALIST LEGALITY, WHICH REQUIRES THE DEVELOPMENT OF CREATIVE CRITICISM, OF THE INITIATIVE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND OF THE POPULAR MASSES AS A WHOLE. IT MUST CONSIST AT THE SAME TIME IN AVE MEANS OF ALL ATTEMPTS TO UTILIZE FREEDOM OF CRITICISM BY HOSTILE ELEMENTS FOR THE PURPOSE OF SPREADING ALARM AND ANTIMINIST VIEWS, AND OF ANY KIND OF OUTBURST INTENDED TO INTERRUPT THE PEOPLES MARCH.

THE NEED FOR DEMOCRATIZATION, FOR AVE STURDY STRUGGLE TO REFORM THE LEMNIST HOURS OF PARTY LIFE DOES NOT IN THE LEAST STEW FROM HERELY CURRENT POLITICAL ENTWINEMENTS.

IT STEWS FROM THE FUNDAMENTAL NEEDS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR SOCIALIST BUILDING.

FIRSTLY, WE WANT TO CREATE CONDITIONS WHERE THE DISTORTIONS THAT OCCURRED IN THE PAST COULD NOT BE REPEATED, CONDITIONS WHERE ALL FAVORITISM BY ANY ORGANS OF AUTHORITY COULD NOT TAKE PLACE, CONDITIONS WHERE THE ORGANS OF REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLES STATE WILL BE UNDER THE COMPLETE CONTROL OF THE PARTY AND SUBORDINATED TO THE DEMOCRATIC ORGANS OF AUTHORITY - IN OTHER WORDS CONDITIONS WHERE THE CITIZENS CAN REALLY EXERCISE ALL THE GREAT RIGHTS OFFERED BY OUR PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM.

SECONDLY, WE WANT TO CREATE CONDITIONS WHERE THE ENERGY AND EXPERIENCE OF THE MASSES AS THE MASTERS OF THE COUNTRY, THE INITIATIVE, URGENCY AND CONCERN OF THE CITIZENS WILL BE ABLE TO FIND THE FULLEST EXPRESSION AND EXERT THE MOST EFFECTIVE INFLUENCE ON THE ADVANCEMENT OF OUR BUILDING, ON THE WORK OF EVERY SOCIALIST ENTERPRISE, ON THE ACTIVITY OF EVERY PEOPLES COUNCIL, AND ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE SEW AND THE PEOPLES GOVERNMENT.

HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE TEACHES US THAT THE HERE GAINING OF POWER BY THE WORKING CLASS IN ALLIANCE WITH THE PEASANTRY, AVE FACT CONSTITUTING THE FUNDAMENTAL TURNING POINT ON THE ROAD TO OUR DEMOCRACY, SINCE IT CUTS OFF THE ROOTS OF EXPLOITATION AND DEFEATMENT OF THE POPULAR MASSES BY AVE SMALL MINORITY - BY LANDOWNERS AND CAPITALISTS - DOES NOT AUTOMATICALLY SOLVE

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HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE TEACHES US THAT THE TRUE GAINING OF POWER BY THE WORKING CLASS IN ALLIANCE WITH THE PEASANTRY, AND FACT CONSTITUTING THE FUNDAMENTAL TURNING POINT ON THE ROAD TO THE DEMOCRACY, SINCE IT CUTS OFF THE ROOTS OF EXPLOITATION AND ENSLAVEMENT OF THE PEOPLES MASSES BY A FEW SMALL MINORITY - BY LANDOWNERS AND CAPITALISTS - DOES NOT AUTOMATICALLY SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE STATE AND THE PEOPLES MASSES.

OUR STRUGGLE TO ELIMINATE THE CAPITALIST CLASSES LEADS TO THE ELIMINATION OF ANTAGONISTIC CLASS CONTRADICTIONS. HOWEVER, IN THE COURSE OF SOCIALIST BUILDING THERE COME INTO BEING NONETHELESS, NEW ANTAGONISTIC CONTRADICTIONS NOT ONLY IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS BUT ALSO IN THE FIELD OF POLITICAL RELATIONS AND SO

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NONETHELESS, NEW ANTAGONISTIC CONTRADICTIONS NOT ONLY IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS BUT ALSO IN THE FIELD OF POLITICAL RELATIONS AND FORMS, FORMS OF CONSCIOUSNESS ARISING IN THE FIELD OF IDEOLOGY, CULTURE, ETC.

IN THE COURSE OF SOCIALIST BUILDING THERE ARISE CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE RAPID GROWTH OF THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES OF SOCIALISM AND THE RAPID GROWTH OF THE MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE ON THE ONE HAND AND THE EXCESSIVELY CENTRALIZED AND BUREAUCRATIZED FORMS OF ORGANIZATION AND METHODS OF MANAGEMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND THE ENTIRE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE COUNTRY, ON THE OTHER. THIS LED TO THE FETTERING OF THE INITIATIVE OF THE MASSES, STAGNATION AMONG THE WORKING CLASS AND PEASANT MASSES THE SINCE THAT THEY ARE THE MASTERS OF THE COUNTRY, IMPEDED PROGRESS IN MANY FIELDS OF LIFE.

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IN THE COURSE OF SEVERAL YEARS THERE TOOK PLACE AN INCREASING AND FAR REACHING PROCESS OF CENTRALIZATION OF POWER, MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING, RESPONSIBILITY BEFORE SUPERIOR STATE AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANS GAINED PRECEDENCE OVER RESPONSIBILITY BEFORE THE MASSES, BEFORE THE ELECTIONS, BEFORE THE WORKING PEOPLE.

THE CONCENTRATION OF EXECUTIVE POWER IN THE HANDS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS OFTEN RESTRICTED THE CONSTITUTIONAL POWER OF THE PEOPLES COUNCILS, THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND OF THE COOPERATIVE SELF-GOVERNMENT.

THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM, ON WHICH THE ACTIVITY OF OUR PARTY AND OF THE PEOPLES STATE SHOULD BE BASED, WAS OFTEN DISTORTED TOWARDS BUREAUCRACY.

THE PARTY, WHICH WAS OFTEN ENGAGED IN "ADMINISTRATIVE" WORK, IN DEALING WITH MANY MESSY PROBLEMS WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ORGANS OF AUTHORITY ON ALL LEVELS, BECAME EXCESSIVELY CENTRALIZED. THE FETTERING OF THE PARTY DEMOCRACY TOOK PLACE, AS WELL AS THE LIMITATION OF THE INITIATIVE AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, AND BUREAUCRATIZATION AND AT THE SAME TIME THE WEAKENING OF THE DAY TO DAY LINKS WITH THE MASSES. IN THESE CONDITIONS THERE APPEARED TENDENCIES TO RESTRICT DEMOCRACY GENERALLY, TO VIOLATE THE PRINCIPLES OF COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP, AND THIS LED TO CLARING CASES OF DEVIANCE OF THE TIES BETWEEN THE PARTY AND STATE ORGANS AND THE MASSES, AND LATER TO MORE OR LESS POLITICAL ERRORS.

IT WE HAD IN MIND THE FACT THAT WE TOO SUBMITTED TO STALIN'S ERRONEOUS THEORY CONCERNING THE SUBSTITUTION OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE AS SOCIALIST ADVANCES, AS WELL AS TO THE FALSE CONCLUSIONS DRAWING FROM IT, SEEING BEHIND ALL MANIFESTATIONS OF IDEOLOGICAL VARIATIONS, ALIEN OR HOSTILE VIEWS, THE INFLUENCE OF SUBVERSION AND IMPERIALIST AGENTS, THEN IT BECAME UNDERSTANDABLE HOW IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT IN OUR CONDITIONS THE PUBLIC SECURITY ORGANS ACQUIRED ANY SPECIAL POSITION, AND LATER HOW IT CAME ABOUT THAT GRAVE DISTORTIONS OCCURRED IN THE WORK OF THESE ORGANS.

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...OF THE TIES BETWEEN THE PARTY AND STATE APPARATUS AND THE MASS, AND LATER TO KNOW OR GRAVE POLITICAL ERRORS. IF WE DEAR IN HAND THE FACT THAT WE TOO SUCCEEDED TO STAIN PROFOUNDLY THEMSELVES CONCERNING THE SHAPING OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE AS SOCIALIST ADVANCES, AS WELL AS TO THE FALSE CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM IT, SEEING WHERE ALL MANIFESTATIONS OF IDEOLOGICAL UNWILLING, ALTHOUGH HOSTILE VIEWS, THE INFLUENCE OF SUBVERSION AND IMPERIALIST AGENTS, THEN IT BECOMES UNDERSTANDABLE HOW IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT IN OUR CONDITIONS THE PUBLIC SECURITY ORGANS ACQUIRED A SPECIAL POSITION, AND LATER HOW IT CAME ABOUT THAT GRAVE DISTORTIONS OCCURRED IN THE WORK OF THESE ORGANS.

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PAULO PAP

---(HERE CONTINUATION SPEECH BEGINS 22/7/56 22.5/200)---

THE BUREAUCRATIC DISTORTIONS IN OUR PEOPLE STATE BECAME A SERIOUS DANGER OF THE ADVANCEMENT IN NEW VIEWS OF LIFE OF PEOPLES POLAR, BECAME AND DANGER DANGERING THE DAY BY DAY EPOCH-TEAM, CLOSE CONTACT BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLES POWER ON THE ONE HAND AND THE WORKING MASSES ON THE OTHER. THAT IS WHY WE CONSIDER IT INDOCTRINATIVE TO RECALL THE TEACHINGS OF LENIN THAT, THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BUREAUCRACY IS INDISPENSIBLY AND ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY FOR THE VICTORY OF THE FURTHER SOCIALIST BUILDING. WHAT IS THE DANGER THAT THE DAY LEADS THROUGH THE CREATION OF SUCH CONDITIONS IN WHICH THE ASPIRATIONS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE MASSES, AS WELL AS THE SOCIALIST, WILL BE ABLE TO FIND THE FULLEST POSSIBLE EXPRESSION IN GOVERNING THE COUNTRY.

THE LIQUIDATION OF THE EXCESSIVE CONCENTRATION OF POWER AND MANAGEMENT, THE REDUCTION OF ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS, THE VERNING OF THE POWERS OF SOCIALIST ENTERPRISES AND PEOPLES COUNCILS, THE REDUCTION OF ALL FORMS OF PEOPLES DISCRIMINATION, THE WIDE DEVELOPMENT OF PEOPLES DEMOCRACY IN WORK ESTABLISHMENTS, THE DEVELOPMENT OF BOLD CRITICISMS "FROM BELOW" AND OF ALL FORMS OF THE SHARE OF THE MASSES IN GOVERNMENT - THESE ARE THE MAIN TASKS OF STRUGGLE, WHICH THE PARTY SHOULD DEVELOP IN ITS CONTINUOUS EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF LIFE IN THE COUNTRY.

WHILE TALKING OUT THIS, LET US REMIND ALL THOSE WHO COUNT ON CHAOS AND DISORDER DURING THE ACTS SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION, TO CONDUCT THEIR ACTIVITIES, TO BECOME CONSCIOUS AND TO GO HAND TO OUR CONTRIBUTION THAT THE STATE OF PEOPLES DEMOCRACY IS AND REMAINS A FORM OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, THAT THE ROLES OF THE POLITICALS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY POLAND WILL BE DIVERGED FROM THE ROAD OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AND THAT WE STAND WITH THE GREAT COUNTRY OF SOVIET UNION AND

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COMRADES DECLARATION HAVE

THE DRAFT RESOLUTION CONTAINS A CLEAR PICTURE OF THE CONCRETE STEPS WHICH THE PARTY INTENDS TO TAKE IN IMPLEMENTING ITS PROGRAMME OF THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE COUNTRY.

WE THINK THAT THERE IS NO POINT IN DISCUSSING HERE ALL THESE INSTRUCTIONS.

WE WOULD LIKE TO DEAL BRIEFLY WITH THOSE PROBLEMS WHICH REQUIRING CERTAIN ADDITIONAL EXPLANATIONS.

THE FIRST PROBLEM IS THAT OF WOMEN'S DEMOCRACY.

IT IS A FACT THAT THE BURDEN OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR OURS HOME ESTABLISHMENT IS NOT YET SUFFICIENTLY STRONG AMONG THE WORKING CLASS WHICH HAS GIVEN SO MUCH SELFLESSNESS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR ECONOMIC PLANS AND WHICH HAS MADE MANY A SACRIFICE; IT IS A FACT THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE WORKERS, PARTICULARLY AMONG THE NEW, YOUNG SECTION OF THE WORKERS, IS NOT CONSIDERABLY HINDERED BY BUREAUCRATIC CONDITIONS IN WORK ESTABLISHMENTS AND BY THE LACK OF ECONOMIC INCENTIVES WHICH ARE IN A VISIBLE WAY LINKING THE PERSONAL INTERESTS OF THE WORKER WITH THE WHOLE OF THE ECONOMY OF THE WORK ESTABLISHMENT.

THE DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THIS PRIMARY SECTION POINTS TO CONCRETE MEANS OF LIQUIDATING THESE SITUATIONS.

IT MUST BE STRESSED THAT THE EXPANSION OF THE POWERS OF THE MANAGERIALS OF ENTERPRISES (INCIDENTALLY, STILL HIGHLY INSUFFICIENT) - WHICH CAUSES THE MANY CRITICAL VOICES FROM OUR WORKERS, THE EXPANSION OF THE POWERS OF THE PEOPLES COUNCILS, WILL NOT SOLVE ANYTHING BY ITSELF, UNLESS THESE POWERS ARE FOLLOWED BY DEFINITE ECONOMIC MEASURES WHICH WOULD ENABLE THEM TO TAKE USE OF THESE POWERS, TO DEVELOP INITIATIVE IN PRODUCTION, TO MAKE USE OF THE RESOURCES, TO MAKE TECHNOLOGICAL AND TO PROMOTE TECHNICAL PROGRESS - MEASURES WHICH THE WORKERS WOULD DIRECTLY APPRECIATE IN THE FORM OF THEIR INCOME, ADDITIONAL BENEFITS, AND REDUCES FROM THE WORKING PEOPLE.

ESTABLISHMENT IS NOT YET SUFFICIENTLY STRONG AMONG THE WORKING CLASSES WHICH HAS GIVEN SO MUCH SELFLESSNESS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR ECONOMIC PLANS AND WHICH HAS MADE MANY SACRIFICES; IT IS AN FACT THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE WORKERS, PARTICULARLY AMONG THE NEW, YOUNG GENERATION OF THE WORKERS, IS OFTEN CONSIDERABLY HINDERED BY BUREAUCRATIC OBSTACLES IN WORK ESTABLISHMENTS AND BY A LACK OF ECONOMIC INCENTIVES WHICH ARE IN ANY VISIBLE WAY LINKING THE PERSONAL INTERESTS OF THE WORKER WITH THE GOALS OF THE ECONOMY OF THE WORK ESTABLISHMENT.

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THE EXPANSION OF THE POWERS OF THE WORKS COUNCILS AND THE INCREASE OF THE ROLE OF THE TRADE UNIONS IN THE ACTUAL, NOT ONLY FORMAL, SCOUTING OF ALL PROBLEMS OF INTEREST FOR WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES CANNOT NATURALLY OVERCOME THE BINDING PRINCIPLE OF ONE PERSON MANAGEMENT, OR THE WORK DISCIPLINE IN THE WORK ESTABLISHMENT, SUCH AN IMPROVEMENT OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN WORK ESTABLISHMENTS, WHICH IS JUSTIFIED BY CERTAIN DEMANDS BY "THE END OF THE CHIEF OF THE INDIVIDUAL", COULD ONLY BRING INCALCULABLE LOSSES.

WHAT MATTERS IN PRACTICE IS THAT THE MANAGER OF ANY SOCIALIST ENTERPRISE SHOULD REMEMBER THAT HE IS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE STATE IN THE ENTERPRISE BUT AT THE SAME TIME THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WORKING CLASS, APPROPRIATE TO MANAGE THE ENTERPRISE, THAT HE CANNOT FORGET FOR ANY MOMENT ABOUT THE FUNDAMENTAL TRUTH THAT SOCIALIST PRODUCTION SERVES MAN - THE WORKING MAN - THE WORKER, PEASANT, FISHMAN, BUSINESS.

THE MANAGER WHO KNOWS CLEARLY FOR THE PLAN BUT FORGETS THE PEOPLE, THEIR NEEDS, THEIR CONVICTIONS, THEIR RIGHTS, THEIR PROBLEMS AND INADEQUATE POSITIONS CAN ONLY FILL AN ADMINISTRATIVE POST IN ANY SOCIALIST ESTABLISHMENT.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE WORKS COUNCILS, AS THE BASIC TRADE UNION BODIES, WHICH USUALLY TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THEIR VIDE RIGHTS AND DEFENDING THE WORKERS AGAINST ANY BUREAUCRATIC DISTORTIONS AND ABUSEMENTS OF LABOR LEGISLATION, USUALLY SHOWING CONCERN FOR THE MATERIAL AND CULTURAL REQUIREMENTS OF THE WORKERS, MUST SHARPLY FIGHT ANY BUREAUCRATIC PRACTICES VIOLATING LABOR DISCIPLINE AND DIRECTED AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE, THAT IS THE INTERESTS OF THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS.

THIS IS OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THE FACT THAT WE HAD TO ASSESS THE UNCONSCIOUSLY OBTAINED LAW OF SOCIALIST LABOR DISCIPLINE AND REPLACE THE MEANS OF ADMINISTRATIVE REPRESSION BY EDUCATIONAL MEANS.

THE ADOPTION OF THIS LAW WILL REQUIRE FROM THE PARTY AND THE TRADE UNIONS AN EXTENSIVE STRUGGLE, BASED ON THE SUPPORT OF THE MOST POLITICALLY CONSCIOUS WORKERS, AGAINST MANIFESTATIONS OF OBSCURANTISM, ABUSEMENTS OF LABOR LEGISLATION AND DISCRIMINATION OF PRODUCTION.

ONE OF THE MAIN STOPS, WHICH IS UNDER THE IMPERATIVE OF THE WORKING CLASS ON THE QUESTION OF WORK AND THE LABOR LEGISLATION OF THE ECONOMY OF SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE INDUSTRY AND INDUSTRIES.

BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS, GOVERNMENT SUCH PROBLEMS AS WAGES, PROTECTIVE CLOTHING AND SOCIAL RIGHTS, HAVE BECOME THE SUBJECT OF DECISIONS BY THE GOVERNMENT, DECISIONS TO WHICH OF LATE THE PHRASE "IN CONSULTATION WITH THE CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS" IS ADDED.

IT GOES THAT THIS PRACTICE OF CENTRALIZED DECISIONS ACTUALLY DEPRIVING THE TRADE UNIONS OF THE POSSIBILITY OF THOROUGHLY EXAMINING, WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE WORKERS, ANY CHANGES IN WAGES, SOCIAL RIGHTS, ETC. SHOULD BE DISCARDED AND THAT THE PRACTICE OF BILATERAL AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE MANAGEMENT AND THE WORKERS SHOULD BE RESUMED.

THE WORKS COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS WHICH ARE AN ESSENTIAL GAIN GROWING STILL NOT FULLY UTILIZED OF ONE WORKING CLASS SHOULD BE MADE MORE COMPREHENSIVE IN ANY FUNDAMENTAL MATTER BY COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS FOR WHOLE INDUSTRIES, INCREASING ALL PROBLEMS RELATING TO WORKING CONDITIONS AND, OF COURSE, WAGES.

THESE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE INDUSTRIES AND TRADE UNION EXECUTIVES, PREPARED IN ANY DEMOCRATIC MANNER ON THE BASIS OF THE WORKERS VIEWS, SHOULD BE ONE OF THE MAIN FACTORS OF WORKING CLASS DEMOCRACY IN WORK ESTABLISHMENTS.

THE SECOND PROBLEM IS THE PROBLEM OF LEGALITY AND FULL RESPECT FOR THE CITIZEN'S RIGHTS.

WE THINK THAT THERE IS NO NEED TO SPEAK AGAIN ON PROBLEMS OF LEGALITY IN THE ORGANS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, IN THE ORGANS OF PUBLIC SECURITY AND CITIZEN'S MILITIA.

THE DRAFT RESOLUTION CLEARLY DEFINES THE TASKS IN THIS FIELD. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT WE HAVE NOW EVERYTHING NEEDED TO CREATE A SITUATION WHERE THE RIGHTS OF THE CITIZENS OF PEOPLES POLAR ARE RESPECTED AS STRICTLY AS POSSIBLE.

HOWEVER, THE PROBLEM OF LEGALITY IS OF CONSIDERABLY GREATER IMPORTANCE AND IS MOST CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH THE DRIVE AGAINST THE FACT, IF WE STATE THAT THERE ARE CASES, AND NOT INFREQUENTLY AT THAT, WHERE VIOLATIONS OF LABOR LEGISLATION IN SOCIALIST WORK ESTABLISHMENTS OCCUR, IF WE HAVE SO MANY CASES OF LAWSUITERS IN THE CONSTITUTION - THEN THIS IS DUE TO THE FACT THAT CERTAIN ORGANS OF AUTHORITY IN THE ADMINISTRATION HAVE BECOME REVERSED FROM THE NEEDS, HAVE LOST THE CONSCIOUSNESS THAT THEY SHOULD

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CERTAIN LINKS OF OUR APPARATUS HAVE TURNED INTO UNTIDY-FAVOR CLIGUES. IN THIS FIELD LEGALITY CANNOT BE RATIONALLY SAFEGUARDED BY SUPERVISION BY THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE - THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE CAN AND SHOULD INTERVENE IN CASES OF GLARING BREACHES OF THE LAW IN FORCE.

MORE

A DAY BY DAY STRUGGLE FOR RESPECT FOR ALL THE RIGHTS OF THE CITIZEN AND ALL THE PROVISIONS OF THE LAW CAN BE EFFECTIVELY WAGED ONLY BY THE MASSES THEMSELVES, BY THEIR SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, BY THE PE

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REORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION.

ONE OF THE FALSE STEPS WHICH LIMITED THE INFLUENCE OF THE WORKING CLASS ON THE CONDITIONS OF WORK WAS THE GREAT LIMITATION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS ENTERING INTO EXISTENCE.

BASIC PROVISIONS OF THE COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS, CONCERNING SUCH PROBLEMS AS WAGES, PROTECTIVE CLOTHING AND SOCIAL RIGHTS, HAVE BECOME THE SUBJECT OF DECISIONS BY THE GOVERNMENT, DECISIONS TO WHICH OF LATE THE PHRASE "IN CONSULTATION WITH THE CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS" IS ADDED.

IT SEEMS THAT THIS PRACTICE OF CENTRALIZED DECISIONS ACTUALLY DEPRIVING THE TRADE UNIONS OF THE POSSIBILITY OF THOROUGHLY EXAMINING, WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE WORKERS, ANY CHANGES IN WAGES, SOCIAL RIGHTS, ETC., SHOULD BE DISCARDED AND THAT THE PRACTICE OF BILATERAL AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE MANAGEMENT AND THE WORKERS SHOULD BE RESTORED.

THE WORKS COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS WHICH ARE AN ESSENTIAL GAIN (THOUGH STILL NOT FULLY UTILIZED) OF OUR WORKING CLASS SHOULD BE MADE MORE COMPREHENSIVE IN AN ESSENTIAL MANNER BY COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS FOR WHOLE INDUSTRIES, ENBRACING ALL PROBLEMS RELATING TO WORKING CONDITIONS AND, OF COURSE, WAGES.

THOSE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE MINISTRIES AND TRADE UNION EXECUTIVES, PREPARED IN AN IMPERIALISTIC SPIRIT ON THE BASIS OF THE WORKING CLASS, SHOULD BE ONE OF THE MAIN FACTORS OF WORKING CLASS DEMOCRACY IN WORK ESTABLISHMENTS.

THE SECOND PROBLEM IS THE PROBLEM OF LEGALITY AND FULL RESPECT FOR THE CITIZEN'S RIGHTS.

WE THINK THAT THERE IS NO NEED TO dwell AGAIN ON PROBLEMS OF LEGALITY IN THE ORGANS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, IN THE ORGANS OF PUBLIC SECURITY AND CITIZEN'S MILITIA.

THE DRAFT RESOLUTION CLEARLY DEFINES THE TASKS IN THIS FIELD. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT WE HAVE NOT EVERYTHING NEEDED TO CREATE A SITUATION WHERE THE RIGHTS OF THE CITIZENS OF PEOPLE'S POLAND ARE RESPECTED AS STRICTLY AS POSSIBLE.

HOWEVER, THE PROBLEM OF LEGALITY IS OF CONSIDERABLY GREATER IMPORTANCE AND IS MOST CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH THE DRIVE AGAINST RED TAPE. IF WE STATE THAT THERE ARE CASES, AND NOT INFREQUENTLY AT THAT, WHERE BREACHES OF LABOR LEGISLATION IN SOCIALIST WORK ESTABLISHMENTS OCCUR, IF WE HAVE SO MANY CASES OF LAZINESS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE - THEN THIS IS DUE TO THE FACT THAT CERTAIN ORGANS OF AUTHORITY IN THE ADMINISTRATION HAVE BECOME DETACHED FROM THE MASSES, HAVE LOST THE CONSCIOUSNESS THAT THEY SHOULD SERVE THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE.

CERTAIN LINKS OF OUR APPARATUS HAVE TURNED INTO UNTIDY-FAVOR CLIGUES. IN THIS FIELD LEGALITY CANNOT BE RATIONALLY SAFEGUARDED BY SUPERVISION BY THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE - THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE CAN AND SHOULD INTERVENE IN CASES OF GLARING BREACHES OF THE LAW IN FORCE.

MORE

A DAY BY DAY STRUGGLE FOR RESPECT FOR ALL THE RIGHTS OF THE CITIZEN AND ALL THE PROVISIONS OF THE LAW CAN BE EFFECTIVELY WAGED ONLY BY THE MASSES THEMSELVES, BY THEIR SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, BY THE PEOPLE'S COUNCILS WHICH GREAT POSSIBILITIES IN STATE ACTIVITY, IN SOCIAL CONTROL AND IN THE TRUE CONTROL OF THE EXECUTIVE ORGANS ARE STILL HIGHLY INSUFFICIENTLY UTILIZED.

THE PARTY SHOULD SHOW SPECIAL CARE AND ATTENTION TO SAFEGUARD LEGALITY IN RELATION TO NATIONAL MINORITIES.

THE PARTY MUST REDOUBT ITS EFFORTS TO COMBAT ALL MANIFESTATIONS OF NATIONALISM, ANTISEMITISM AND DISCRIMINATION IN RELATION TO CITIZENS OF NON-POLISH NATIONALITY, TO SAFEGUARD THEIR TRUE EQUALITY IN ALL FIELDS OF LIFE.

WE MUST SEE TO IT THAT ALL THE WORK DONE IN THIS FIELD WHICH CAN

HERE

A DAY BY DAY STRUGGLE FOR RESPECT FOR ALL THE RIGHTS OF THE CITY
AND ALL THE PROVISIONS OF THE LAW CAN BE EFFECTIVELY WAGED
ONLY BY THE MASSES THEMSELVES, BY THEIR SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS,
BY THE PEOPLES COUNCILS WHOSE GREAT POSSIBILITIES IN STATE ACTI-
VITY, IN SOCIAL CONTROL AND IN THE CONTROL OF THE EXECUTIVE
ORGANS ARE STILL NOT BEING IMMEDIATELY UTILIZED.

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GUARDING LEGALITY IN RELATION TO NATIONAL MINORITIES.

THE PARTY MUST REDOUBLE ITS EFFORTS TO COMBAT ALL MANIFESTA-
TIONS OF NATIONALISM, ANTI-SEMITISM AND DISCRIMINATION IN RELATION
TO CITIZENS OF NON-POLISH NATIONALITY, TO SAFEGUARD THEIR TRUE
EQUALITY IN ALL FIELDS OF LIFE.

AND NEXT SEE TO IT THAT ALL THE WORK DONE IN THIS FIELD WHICH CAN
BE PUT RIGHT SHOULD BE PUT RIGHT, SO THAT THOSE INVOLVED SHOULD
ACQUIRE CONVICTION OF THE JUSTICE AND CORRECTNESS OF OUR POLICY,
SO THAT WE COULD WIN THEIR FULL CONFIDENCE.

THE THIRD PROBLEM - IS THE PROBLEM OF FREEDOM OF CRITICISM
AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CRITICISM FROM ABOVE.

FREEDOM OF CRITICISM IS THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT OF SOCIALIST
DEMOCRACY. FETTERING, SUPPRESSION OF CRITICISM, OR COERCING
CRITICISM INTENDED TO ADVANCE THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLES
STATE AND SOCIALIST BUILDING - MUST LEAD TO THE SUPPRESSION OF
DEMOCRACY, TO THE UNDERMINING OF THE FUNCTIONING OF THE ORGANS
OF PEOPLES POWER AND, IN CONSEQUENCE, OF THE PARTY AND THE STATE.

THE BUREAUCRATS HAVE NOT CHANGED IN THEIR DRIVE AGAINST GOOD
CRITICISM.

ON THE CONTRARY, AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE NUMEROUS CASES OF
CONSPIRACY IN PUBLIC CRITICISM A NUMBER OF BUREAUCRATS IN THE
STATE AND ECONOMIC APPARATUS, AND SOMETIMES ALSO IN THE PARTY
APPARATUS, ARE ENDEAVORING TO TANK THE REVERIES AND DEAL WITH THE
CRITICISMS, AND THE SO-CALLED FELLOWS.

THERE ARE STILL MANY CASES OF VIOLENCE AGAINST PEOPLE WHO AT
PERSONAL MEETINGS OR EVEN AT PARTY MEETINGS TRIED TO CRITICIZE
THEIR SUPERIORS.

ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAYS OF STOPPING CRITICISM IS INDIFFE-
RENCE, NO RESPONSE TO THE MOST JUSTIFIED OBSERVATIONS AND CRITICAL
CHALLENGES.

MANY EXAMPLES COULD BE QUOTED FROM THE PRACTICE OF WORKERS
MEETINGS, FROM THE PERIOD OF THE REORGANIZATION OF THE HEAVY STEEL
WORK PLAN, FROM THE DISCUSSIONS AFTER THE TWENTIETH CONGRESS,
WHICH JUST AND CORRECT PROPOSALS AND CRITICAL REMARKS WERE LEFT
WITHOUT RESPONSE.

THE EFFORTS WERE MADE AS FAR AS POSSIBLE - FOR THIS PURPOSE
AND WITHOUT INTERRUPTING THE WORKING SHOWING BY THE CITY
ZONES FOR BETTER MANAGEMENT, FOR BETTER SERVICE OF WORK, FOR TECHNICAL
RESEARCH, ETC., PROMOTE THE MOST VALUABLE CAPITAL OF SOCIAL INITIATIVE
AND UNDERSTANDING THE COMMITMENT IN THE NAME OF THE DEMOCRATIC
VOICE OF CITIZENS.

HOWEVER, WHILE STRESSING THE GREAT IMPORTANCE OF THE FREEDOM OF
CRITICISM, ABOVE ALL THE CRITICISM FROM BELOW, WE MUST NOT FORGET
THAT THE FREEDOM OF CRITICISM CANNOT MEAN THE FREEDOM OF ANY
CRITICISM. WE DO NOT WANT CRITICISM FROM THE POSITIONS OF THE
ENEMY AND WE SHALL NOT ALLOW SUCH CRITICISM.

WE SHALL NOT ALLOW THE FREEDOM OF CRITICISM TO BE ABUSED FOR THE
PURPOSES OF SLANDERING THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PARTY, SO SER-
VILELY PAID FOR, THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION,
FOR THE PURPOSE OF SLANDERING POLISH SOVIET RELATIONS, OF SPREAD-
ING FASCIST PROPAGANDA, OF SPREADING VIEWS WHICH ARE HOSTILE
TO OUR IDEOLOGY.

RESISTANCE IS NECESSARY HERE, ABOVE ALL IN THE FORM OF ABUSIVE
MENTS EXPOSING ALL FALSITIES, HYPOCRISY AND CORRUPTION, AND
WHERE THE NECESSITY ARISES, IT IS NATURAL THAT THERE IS A NEED
FOR ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES WHICH WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE PARTY
TO ABUSE THE FREEDOM OF CRITICISM.

IT MAY BE ADVISABLE TO REMOVE CASES FROM A NEW POINT OF VIEW

CRITICISM. SINCE THE THIRD PART OF THE CONGRESS COMMITTEE FOR
PRESS HAS MADE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF NEW
CRITICISM, IT ACQUIRES A LITTLE CLEARER, IT
WAS NOT TO SEE THINGS THROUGH NEW EYEGLASSES, IT WAS
AND IN A FEW YEARS OF PERSONAL CRITICISM AND DEMOCRATIZATION.
THERE ARE UNDOUBTEDLY VALUABLE ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE FIELD OF IT
REINFORCING THE WORK OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLES GOVT WITH THE
MASSSES.

BUT WE MUST STATE AT THE SAME TIME THAT THE PRESS HAS ALSO MADE
SOME A FEW MISTAKES.

THE FREEDOM OF CRITICISM IN OUR PRESS, IN A PRESS WHICH IS TO
SHOW THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION, CANNOT MEAN THAT
THE PRESS WILL GIVE A DISTORTED PICTURE OF REALITY.

EVEN IN THOSE PAPERS WHICH ARE SCORPIONS IN THEIR CRITICISM
AND AVOID REPORTING NUMEROUS FACTS AND GIVING MISREPRESENTATION OF SOCIAL
SCENE

REALITIES, THE ACCUMULATION OF CRITICAL MATERIAL, WITH THE SEVERE
TENDENCY TOWARD TO PRESENT THE POSITIVE ASPECTS OF THE WORKING
MASSSES, THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLES GOVT, CREATES AN UNTRUE AND
DISTORTED PICTURE OF LIFE.

IT IS MUCH WORSE WHEN THIS DISTORTION IS ACCOMPANIED BY
RESPONSIBLE OUTBURSTS, DISTORTED FACTS, ALLEGED HOSTILE OUT-
BURSTS, THINGS WHICH ARE FAR FROM MARXIST-LINENINISM. IT HAS BEEN
A CONSIDERABLE MISTAKE OF THE PART OF THE PARTY PRESS, AND FIRST
OF ALL OF THOSE WHOSE LIES - WHICH THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS ALREADY
REPEATEDLY POINTED OUT - THAT IT DOES NOT RESIST THIS DAVE OF
PERSONALITY, THAT IT DOES NOT DETERMINEDLY RESIST THE ANTI-PARTY
OUTBURSTS AND THE BOMBASTIC CONTRADICTIONS IN SOME OF OUR PERIODICALS.

WHEN DEVELOPING CRITICISM IN ITS PAGES THE PRESS MUST NOT ONLY
SEE TO IT THAT THIS CRITICISM IS SCORPIONS AND BASED ON FACTS
BUT IT MUST ALSO SEE TO IT THAT IT IS EFFECTIVE. EFFECTIVE IN
A DOUBLE SENSE IT MUST BRING ABOUT PROPER EFFECTS, THE PRESS
OF THE SECRET COPY APPROVED TO RELEASE 2010/10/08 CIA-RDP81-01043R000100000004-1

IT IS MUCH WORSE WHEN THESE DISORDERLINES ARE ACCOMPANIED BY
IRRESPONSIBLE ORATORS, DISTURBER FACTS, ALIEN AND HOSTILE OF
NATIONS, THUNDERBOLTS WHICH ARE FAR FROM INDIAN LINGUISTS. IT HAS BEEN
A CONSIDERABLE IMPEDIMENT OF THE PART OF THE PARTY PRESS, AND FIRST
OF ALL OF THEM IN MICHIGAN - WHICH THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS ALREADY
REPEATEDLY POINTED OUT - THAT IT DOES NOT RESIST THE FAME OF
PRESIDENTIAL, THAT IT DOES NOT DETERMINEDLY RESIST THE ANTI-PARTY
ORATORS AND THE DISORDERLINES CONTRAINDICATED IN SOME OF OUR PERIODICALS.

THE PRESS IS THE QUARTERSTAY OF THE PARTY.
THE PRESS PARTY THEM HAS GAINED TO A SMALL EXTENT OF THE NEW
PAGES, IS GRANTED TO A CONSIDERABLE INCREASING PUBLIC OPINION.
IT MUST BE WITH A WELL KNOWN OF THE CONVICTION TO THE CONVICTION
AND TO THE PRINCIPLES OF CONSPIRACY FOR THE CAUSE OF
SOCIALISM, DO NOT THINK WE DO HAVE A BATTLE TO FIGHT
INCREASING, BUT TO GAIN ACCEPTANCE AND ESTABLISHMENT IN THE PRESS
CONVINCE THAT IT IS THEIR DUTY, AS THE SOCIALIST PRESS,
TO FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM AND TO SHOW THE OTHERS AND WEED OF THE
WORLD IN SUCH A WAY AS TO ESTABLISH IT TO THE STRONGEST FOR THE
AND LIVING OUT OF THE PARTY.

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CONTACTS, I SHALL NOT BE RESPONSIBLE FOR ANY DAMAGE TO ANYONE

THE ONLY INDICATION OF THE MURDER WAS THAT THE TELECOMMUNICATIONS
OF THE RADIO HAD PASSED AT THE MURDER SCENE REVEALED A PRO
FOUND INDICATION OF THE MURDER. THERE WERE.

A FURTHER DEMONSTRATION
OF THE LIFE OF THE PARTY WHICH SERVES THE COUNTRY, THAT IS NOT
GET THE FULL ENJOYMENT OF THE FREEDOM WORDS OF PARTY LIFE.

THE PARTY CAN PLAY THE ROLE OF A WATCHDOG AND A LEADING FORCE OF THE PROBLEM STATE ONLY WHEN ITS POLICY TAKES SHAPE IN AN ORGANIZATIONAL ALLIANCE WITH THE JAPANESE, WHEN IT BRINGS CONSIDERABLE AND ACTIVE SUPPORT OF THE STATES.

WE HAVE COME ACROSS CASES OF DISCOURAGE AND DISAPPOINTMENT AMONG A SECTION OF THE WORKERS DUE TO THE WAY IN WHICH THE UNION LEADS OF OUR PARTY MAKES.

THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT A LONG POLICY OF DISCONSIDERATELY
FOR THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS IS WORKED BY US, BY THE MANAGEMENT OF
THE PARTY, SINCE WE FAILED TO COME FORWARD, AT THE TIME OF
THE CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH FOLLOWING THE TWENTIAL CONGRESS, WITH A SU
FICIENTLY CONCRETE PROGRAMME OF ACTION, WITH AN BASIC PRINCIPLE
OF THE FUTURE PLAN.

known, summary refers to critical aspects, characterizing the present phase in the political life of the country, cannot be
testify us.

THEY ALSO ARE TO BE FORCED - AND THIS MUST BE THE SUBJECT MATTER OF OUR DELIBERATIONS - IN THE VERY DAY OUR PARTY ORIGINATES AS THE GUIDING FORCE, IN THE OPEN-PRIZE APPROACH TO THE ROLE OF THE PARTY.

THE CULT OF STALIN EXERTED A PERVERSE INFLUENCE ON OUR PARTY, WE WERE UNABLE TO BENEFIT IN A CREATIVE MANNER FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF THE CPSU - WE OFTEN UTILIZED THEM IN A MECHANICAL MANNER BY MERELY COPYING MODELS. WE FAILED TO CONSIDER COMPLETELY THE ROLES WHICH IN OUR THEORY AND PRACTICE.

NO. NOT AT ALL.

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THE POLITICAL PARTIES - THE UNITED PEASANT PARTY AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY - ARE TAKING AN ACTIVE PART IN THE NATIONAL FRONT, THEY ARE OUR IMPORTANT ALLIES RECOGNIZING THE LEADING ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE LIFE OF THE NATION AND FIGHTING TOGETHER WITH US FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF THE NATIONAL FRONT, FOR THE PROGRAMME OF STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, FOR A FLOURISHING DEVELOPMENT OF POLAND ;

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CONT--

DEVELOPMENT OF POLAND , FOR SOCIALISM.

APPREHENSION HAS BEEN CONSTANTLY VOICED THAT INDEPENDENT ACTION AND ACTIVITY OF THE ALLIED PARTIES OPENING THE WAY IN THEMSELVES TO OPPOSITION, CONTRADICTION, OR EVEN ACTI PARTY TENDENCIES. THIS IS NOT A CORRECT VIEW. THIS IS A SUBJECTIVE VIEW.

TAKING THE PROGRAMME OF THE NATIONAL FRONT AS THE BASIS , OUR PARTY PRESUPPOSES DIFFERENCES OF OPINION, ACCEPTED DEMISSIVENESS, CRITICISM, AND STRIKE FOR THE BEST RESULTS OBTAINING OUR COMMON TASKS.

THE PARTY COMMITTEES SHOULD REMAIN TO ALL PARTY MEMBERS THE CORRECT VIEW THAT THE UNITED PEASANT PARTY, HAVING IMPORTANT SUPPORT AMONG A SECTION OF THE PEASANT MASSES AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, HAVING SUPPORT AMONG CHARTERED AND A SECTION OF THE IN CHALLENGERS, HAVE NOT ONLY CONSTITUTED IN THE PAST AND THE PRESENT, AN IMPORTANT LINK IN THE NATIONAL FRONT, AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF PEOPLES DEMOCRACY, BUT WILL ALSO CONSTITUTE IT IN THE FUTURE.

PARTICULARLY WHEN EXPERIENCE AND FACT MUST BE CHOSEN WITHIN THE LIMITS OF SUCH OR OTHER IMAGINATION OF POLITICAL VARIATION IN THE NAME OF THE UNITED PEASANT PARTY AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

THE COORDINATION OF THE UNITY AND COHESION OF THE NATIONAL FRONT CALLS FOR A COMBINED STRUGGLE AGAINST CONTRADICTION AND LIES.

WORKING CLASS TENDENCIES WHICH ARE AIMED AT DESTROYING POLAND TOGETHER WITH THE PEASANT MASSES, ARE, OBJECTIVELY, ONE OF AN OPPORTUNITY FOR ACTION AGAINST REACTIONARY FORCES.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF POLITICAL VARIATION IN OUR PARTY POINTS ARE VARIOUS TO THE PRESENCE OF ALIEN TENDENCIES AND ALIEN POLITICAL IDEOLOGY, TO THE PERPETUATION OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE LOSS OF TOUCH BETWEEN PARTY MEMBERS AND THE MASSES ARE TODAY STRONGER THAN BEFORE ABOUT AS A RESULT OF THE POLITICAL DISAGREEMENT OF TWO PARTY ORGANIZATION.

THE TWENTIETH CONGRESS AND THE TRENDS WHICH FOLLOWED IT MARKED THE BEGINNING OF THE PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION OF POLITICAL IDEAS IN RUSSIA :

ON BASED OUR ACTIVITY FOR MANY YEARS,

ON WHICH WE BROUGHT TO THE PARTY AND THE NATION.

THIS IS NOT, HOWEVER, A REVISION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM, BUT OF THE CONTRARY, A REVISION OF THE DISTORTIONS, ALIEN VIEWS AND DEVIATIONS FROM OUR IDEOLOGY, WHICH DISTORTED, SPREAD, AND STRUCK DOWN ON THE BASIS OF THE GUILT OF THE INDIVIDUAL, OF A DOCTRINE WHICH IS ALIEN TO THE SPIRIT OF MARXISM, OF THE DISTORTIONS OF OUR MARXIST ORIGIN IN THE PARTY AND IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN PARTIES & FOR INSTANCE , IN THE RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA.

THE NEW POLITICAL IDEAS COULD MARK THE BEGINNING BY THE EVENTS OF THE MOST RECENT YEARS THAT AS A RESULT THEREOF WOULD OFFENSIVE, NOT ONLY THE REVISION OF WHAT IS NEW, OLD AND OUTWORN, BUT ALSO THE REPRODUCTION OF THE OLD, REJECTED IDEAS WITH NEW IDEAS DRAWING THEIR FORCE FROM THE UNCONSCIOUS TENDENCY TOWARDS OF MARXIST IDEOLOGY, OF LIVING AND CREATIVE MARXISM.

THIS ALSO REMINDS US THAT WE SHOULD COME FORWARD WITH A PROGRAMME OF ACTION , A PROGRAMME OF INDEPENDENT ACTION, ABOVE ALL, IN THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE COUNTRY, CHANGED AGAIN WITH CORRESPONDENCE TO THE TENDENCIES WHICH HAVE BEEN PUT FORWARD BY THE PARTY AND THE MASSES FOR A PERIOD OF ACTION , BEGINNING FROM THE DISCUSSION ON FACTORY DRAFT TWO YEAR PLAN, IN A FURTHER AND DETERMINED COLLECTION OF OUR TRENDS AND ECONOMIC TRENDS.

WE MUST REALIZE THE FORCES OF THE PARTY, THE FORCES OF THE WORKING CLASS, ALL LIVING FORCES OF THE NATION UNDER THIS PROGRAMME, ABOVE ALL THE ECONOMIC PROGRAMME - BEHIND THE TRENDS OF THE FIVE YEAR PLAN AND THE PRESENT TASKS OF IMPROVING THE SITUATION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

WE SHOULD SUBMIT THIS PROGRAMME OF ACTION TO THE WHOLE COUNTRY AND INSURE IT BY THE BELIEF IN THE PRACTICABILITY AND JUSTICE OF THIS PROGRAMME.

THIS REQUIRES A REALIZATION OF THE PARTY ROUND ITS GENERAL GOALS AND A FULL INNER COORDINATION OF THIS COHESION.

LEAVING THIS CONFERENCE WITH A PROGRAMME OF OUR FURTHER WORK AND TENDENCIES WE SHOULD REMEMBER THAT WE ARE GOING TO OBTAIN THE MARXIST PRINCIPLE OF UNITY OF THOUGHT , UNITY OF WILL, UNITY OF ACTION, TO WHICH THE EFFORTS OF ALL OF US AND OF THE WHOLE PARTY SHOULD BE COORDINATED.

THE UNITY OF THE PARTY, UNITY BASED ON MARXIST ARGUMENT INTO FACT HAS AND IS THE MOST IMPORTANT SOURCE OF THE MILITANT SPIRIT OF OUR PARTY, THE MOST IMPORTANT CONDITION OF THE FULFILLMENT BY IT OF THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS OF THE PEOPLES MASSES AND OF THE LEADER OF THE PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC STATE.

THE UNITY AND THE REALIZATION OF THE PARTY BEHIND THE GOAL OF THE MOST IMPORTANT CHARACTER OF OUR SUCCESS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM IN POLAND AND OF THE COORDINATION OF OUR TRENDS OF FURTHER SOLIDARITY WITH THE CP OF THE SOVIET UNION, WITH ALL COMMUNIST AND WORKING PARTIES IN THE WORLD, WITH ALL FORCES STRIVING FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS.

THE PARTY HEADS ITS INTERNAL COM-
MUNISM AND A FULL THREE CONSIDERATION OF THIS COMMITTEE.
LEAVING THIS CONSIDERATION WITH A PRINCIPLE OF OUR FOURTEEN DOOR
AND STRUGGLE WE SHOULD REMEMBER THAT WE ARE GOING TO OBSERVE THE
PRINCIPLE OF UNITY OF THOUGHT, UNITY OF WILL, UNITY OF
ACTION, TO WHICH THE EFFORTS OF ALL OF US AND OF THE WHOLE PARTY
SHOULD BE SUBORDINATED.
THE UNITY OF THE PARTY, UNITY BASED ON MARXIST-LENINIST IDEO-
LOGY WAS AND IS THE MOST IMPORTANT SOURCE OF THE MILITANT POWER
OF THE PARTY, THE MOST IMPORTANT CONDITION OF THE FULFILLMENT BY
IT OF THE ROLE OF THE VANGUARD OF THE WORKING CLASSES AND OF THE
LEADER OF THE PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC STATE.
THE UNITY AND THE REALITY OF THE PARTY AROUND THE GOAL OF
THE MOST IMPORTANT CHARACTER OF OUR STRUGGLE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR
SOCIALISM IN POLAND AND OF THE CONSOLIDATION OF OUR BOND OF FRA-
TERNAL SOLIDARITY WITH THE CP OF THE SOVIET UNION, WITH ALL SOC-
IALIST AND WORKERS PARTIES IN THE WORLD, WITH ALL FORCES STRUGGLING
FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM AMONG NATIONS, IS

IN 1951
FOR THE
SECRET

HAD OUR PARTY FROM SHOULD HAVE BEEN HAPPY ONLY IN
CONNECTIONS OF A PARTICIPATION OF PARTY DEBATES AND OF THEIR
ADVANCEMENT, OF LOSS OF SUBSTITUTIONS TO THE WORK, OVERSTRESS AND GROUND
TO THE WORKING PEOPLE.

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BUREAU CONTINUED CONTROL

RE OCHAD SPEECH TO SEVENTH PLENARY OF CP PUP TO PARA
ONE PD POZMAN PD IN ASSESSING THE POZMAN DEMONSTRATIONS
CIA OCHAD FIRST OF ALL STATES THAT ONE IT WOULD BE TERRORISTIC TO
CONCENTRATE ATTENTION ABOUT ALL ON THE VAGUATIONS OF PROVOCATORS
AND IMPERIALIST AGENTS UNITE CIA THIS PURSUING FURTHER THE
LINE WHICH HAD BEEN INCREASINGLY PRESENTED BY REGIME PRESS AND
RADIO PD PROCEEDING TO THE ANALYSIS OF THE REASONS WHICH LED TO THE
SITUATION MAKING POZMAN POSSIBLE CIA OCHAD ACKNOWLEDGES BOTH THAT
LIVING CONDITIONS IN POLAND HAVE BEEN UNSATISFACTORY AND THAT THE
GOING OF THE SIX YEAR PLAN WERE NOT HIGHLY CARS/INSUFFICIENT UNITE PD
IT IS CLAIMED THAT THIS FAILURE WAS THE PRIMARILY TO ONE OBJECTIVE
DIFFICULTIES UNITE RELATED TO THE POLISH ECONOMY CIA I PD PD THE
TENSE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION CIA EARLIER RECOGNIZING OF THE
POLISH ECONOMY WHICH HAD TO BE OVERCOME IN A VERY BRIEF PERIOD OF
TIME ETC PD HOWEVER CIA THESE FOLLOWS A LENGTHY AND DETAILED ADMISSION
OF ALMOST TOTAL FAILURE OF THE STRIKE TO BE ANYTHING EFFECTIVE IN
RELIEVING ECONOMIC DISTRESS PD THIS RESULTED IN THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE CONVICTION NOT NOT IN THE PRAGUE SECTIONS OF THE
POPULATION THAT THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT HAS NOT DONE EVERYTHING IN
THEIR POWER TO HELP THE WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES IN THEIR DIFFICULTY.

WATERIAL SITUATION UNITEPD WHICH IN TURN LED TO ONE DISSATISFACTION
UNITE AMONG THE WORKERS PD PARA
CIAH NEXT MOVES TO A SCETCH DEMONSTRATION OF ONE BUREAUCRATIC
DISTORTIONS UNITE AND ONE BUREAUCRATIC UNITE AS HAVING BEEN MAJOR
CONTRIBUTING FACTORS IN ALLOWING THE SITUATION TO AUTONOMATE
WITHOUT TAKING EFFECTIVE COUNTER MEASURES PD THIS CRITICISM IS LEVELLED
AGAINST BOTH CENTRAL AND LOCAL BUREAUCRATS CIA AN ADVANCE OVER
LAST RECENT OFFICIAL CRITICISM WHICH HAS TRIED TO PLACE THE BLAME
PRIMARILY UPON POZMAN APGS A LOCAL AUTHORITIES PD PARA
FOLLOWING THESE MORE GENERAL DECLARATIONS RE THE POLISH ECONOMIC
SITUATION OCHAD SPECIFICALLY DESCRIBES THE GRIEVANCES WHICH LED TO
THE STRIKE BY ZISPO EMPLOYEES PD HERE HE CONFIRMS AND ELABORATES
UPON REPORTS WHICH APPEARED EARLIER THAT THE AVERAGE ZISPO WORKERS WAGES

PAGE TWO

HAD IN FACT BEEN VERY CONSIDERABLE PD THE DIFFERENCE IN WAGE RATE
PAY RESULTED FROM CHANGES IN WAGES WITHOUT PROPORTIONAL UPWARD
REVISION OF PAY SCALES CIA LIGATION OF ONE PROGRESSION OF
WAGE WORK WAGES IN THE SECOND HALF OF ONE NINE FIVE FIVE UNITE CIA
AND TOO DASH HIGH ESTIMATION OF INCOME TAX FOR WORKERS PD AS
A RESULT OF THESE DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES PLUS A BREAKDOWN IN
THE REGULAR SUPPLY OF MATERIAL TO THE ZISPO WORKS CIA IT IS
ADMITTED THAT SEVENTY DASH FIVE PERCENT OF THE WORKERS SUFFERED
A DECLINE IN WAGES PD OCHAD HAS THIS SUCCEEDED IN MAKING A MOST
CONVINCING CASE FOR THE BITTERNESS OF ZISPO EMPLOYEES PD PARA
THERE IS NO ATTEMPT TO REMOVE THESE WORKERS EITHER FOR THEIR
DISAFFECTION OR THEIR STRIKE ACTION PD ON THE CONTRARY CIA ONE
BUREAUCRATIC HABITS AND BUREAUCRATIC INDIFFERENCE UNITE ARE AGAIN
BLAMED AND THE ATTITUDE OF THE BUREAUCRACY TOWARD THE ADMITTEDLY
SERIOUS SHORTCOMINGS EVIDENT AT THE ZISPO WORKS IS SEVERELY CONDEMNED
PD PARA

IN AN APPARENT CONTRADICTION TO OCHAD APGS A INITIAL WARNING AGAINST
PUTTING TOO HIGH ENTH
RPTC

IN AN APPARENT CONTRADICTION TO OCHAD APGS A INITIAL WARNING AGAINST
PUTTING TOO MUCH EMPHASIS UPON SO DASH CALLED PROVOCATIONS CIA HE
STATED THAT ONE TROUBLEMAKERS AND DEMAGOGUES SUCCEEDED IN PROVOKING
A STRIKE AND DEMONSTRATIONS IN POZMAN UNITE AND BLAMES THE ONE
COUNTER DASH REVOLUTIONARY UNDERGROUND UNITE FOR THE ONE BLOODY
PROVOCATION UNITE PD PARA THERE IS NO ATTEMPT CIA OF COURSE CIA TO
EXPLAIN HOW THIS THESIS CAN BE VALID IF HIS EARLIER DISCLAIMER RE
ONE PROVOCATIONS UNITE IS ALSO VALID UNPAREN PD PARA
TWO PD THE ECONOMIC SITUATION PD PASSING FROM THE SPECIFICS OF POZMAN
TO AN APPRAISAL OF THE OVERALL POLISH ECONOMIC SITH CIA OCHAD
CLAIMS CAUSE FOR THE DAYTON AND THE DAYTON AND THE DAYTON AND THE DAYTON

THESE DISPROPORTIONS UNDER PD HONORING CHA WORKERS HAVE COAL
APOS S SPEECH CONTAIN THE ONCE DASH FAMILIAR THEME THAT THE
PRODUCTION OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION WORTH TAKES PRECEDENCE OVER
ALL ELSE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLISH ECONOMY PD PAREN
PRESUMABLY THE DETAILS OF THE NEW ECONOMIC PLAN HAVE BEEN GIVEN BY
CYRANKIEWICZ CHA WHOSE SPEECH HAS NOT YET BEEN RECEIVED HERE
IN PAREN PD

PAGE FOUR

THREE PD COAL PD IT IS WERE THAT HE OBSERVE SOME OF THE MOST
DRAMATIC CONCESSIONS TO THE DEMANDS OF POLISH WORKERS PD PAREN THERE
CAN BE NO QUESTION BUT THAT THERE IS A DIRECT RELATION BETWEEN
CHAB APOS S STRESS UPON THE ALLEVIATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE COAL
MINING INDUSTRY AND HIS RECENT
APOS GRIEVANCES BY TRAVELING TO THE MINES AND SPEAKING TO WORKERS PD
THESE CONCESSIONS ALSO SEEM TO CONTRADICT REPORTS OF WORKER UREST AND
DISSATISFACTION IN THE COAL MINING REGIONS WHICH HAVE APPEARED
RETC

THIS DISPROPORTION REFERS TO THE RELATION BETWEEN CONSUMER AND CAPITAL
GOODS PRODUCTION ALTHOUGH THIS IS NOT CLEARLY INDICATED PD
PAREN ACTUALLY CHA IT APPEARS THAT CHAB IS CALLING FOR
NATIONALIZATION OF ALL SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY WHEN HE SPEARS OF
THESE DISPROPORTIONS UNDER PD HOWEVER CHA NOWHERE DOES CHAB
APOS S SPEECH CONTAIN THE ONCE DASH FAMILIAR THEME THAT THE
PRODUCTION OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION WORTH TAKES PRECEDENCE OVER
ALL ELSE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLISH ECONOMY PD PAREN
PRESUMABLY THE DETAILS OF THE NEW ECONOMIC PLAN HAVE BEEN GIVEN BY
CYRANKIEWICZ CHA WHOSE SPEECH HAS NOT YET BEEN RECEIVED HERE
IN PAREN PD

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THREE PD COAL PD IT IS WERE THAT HE OBSERVE SOME OF THE MOST
DRAMATIC CONCESSIONS TO THE DEMANDS OF POLISH WORKERS PD PAREN THERE
CAN BE NO QUESTION BUT THAT THERE IS A DIRECT RELATION BETWEEN
CHAB APOS S STRESS UPON THE ALLEVIATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE COAL
MINING INDUSTRY AND HIS RECENT
WIVE ATTEMPT TO PACIFY WORKERS

APOS GRIEVANCES BY TRAVELING TO THE MINES AND SPEAKING TO WORKERS PD
THESE CONCESSIONS ALSO SEEM TO CONTRADICT REPORTS OF WORKER UREST AND
DISSATISFACTION IN THE COAL MINING REGIONS WHICH HAVE APPEARED IN
THE REGIME PRESS AND WHICH HAVE BEEN REPORTED BY CORRESPONDENTS
UNDER PD CHAB ADMITS THAT THERE HAS BEEN A ONE LOGGING OF
MAJOR DISCIPLINE WORTH AND THAT THERE IS DANGER THAT COAL PRODUCTION
GOALS THIS YEAR WILL NOT BE MET PD WHILE CALLING FOR ONE IRON
DISCIPLINE WORTH AS ADVOCATED BY LENIN WORTH CHAB AT THE SAME
TIME ANNOUNCES THE CESSATION OF SUNDAY MINING BY ONE NINE FIVE EIGHT
AND THE CUTTING OUT OF ALL BUT ONE SUNDAY OPERATION PER MONTH
BETWEEN THE PRESENT AND THAT DATE PD CHAB ASSURES THAT THE GRANTING
OF A FULL DAY OF REST ON SUNDAY WILL ENCOURAGE WORKERS TO WORK HARDER
AND MORE EFFICIENTLY THE REST OF THE WEEK PD

FOUR PD AGRICULTURE PD IT IS IN THE FIELD OF AGRICULTURE THAT CHAB
SEEMS TO HAVE ANNOUNCED THE MOST DRAMATIC AND FAR DASH REACHING
CONCESSIONS PD AS WITH INDUSTRY CHA HE FEELS BY CLAIMING CERTAIN
POSITIVE ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE COLLECTIVIZATION CHA ESPECIALLY IN ANIMAL
BREEDING PD HOWEVER CHA NO HONOR SPEECH HAS PREVIOUSLY DEVOTED SO
LITTLE ATTENTION TO THE PROBLEM OF COLLECTIVIZATION PD THE IMPRESSION
IS THAT CHAB DOES NOT YET WISH TO DISCUSS THE MATTER CHA AND
ALMOST COMPLETE EMPHASIS IS PLACED UPON THE INDIVIDUAL PEASANT
AND THE HELP TO BE EXTENDED TO HIM IN THE FUTURE PD PARA
SPEAKING OF PAST AGRICULTURAL GAINS CHA CHAB MENTIONS THE ONE
STRENGTHENING IN THE PEASANT MASSES OF THEIR FAITH IN THE
STABILIZATION OF THE SITUATION WORTH AS A MAJOR FACTOR IN
CONTRIBUTING TO GREATER GAIN THERE HAS BEEN PD INADDITION AS THESE
ONE PEASANT MASSES WORTH AND CONSIDERABLY PROPORTIONS OF
INDIVIDUAL FARMERS CHA PRACTICALLY SPEAKING CHAB ADMITS THAT
COLLECTIVIZATION HAS FAILED AND THAT THIS SITUATION WILL NOT CHANGE
IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE PD

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PREPARING THE WAY FOR A RECLASSIFICATION OF THE KULAKS WORTH CHA
CHAB CALLS FOR ONE ELIMINATING COMPLETELY THE PRACTICE CHA PERSISTING
IN MANY REGIONS CHA OF COUNTING THE UPPER LAYER OF MIDDLE
HOLDERS AS KULAKS CHA AS WELL AS OF ADVENTURIST PRESSURE APPLIED
TO KULAK FARMSTEAMS IN A NUMBER WORTH TO THEIR PRODUCTION PD IN
THE FUTURE CHA A ONE KULAK WORTH MAY BECOME A ONE MIDDLE HOLDER
WORTH BY DIVIDING THEIR FARMSTEAMS AMONG THEIR GROWN CHILDREN OR
BY INDICATING THAT ONE THEY ARE NOT ABLE TO WORK ALL OF THE LAND
POSSESSED BY THEM WORTH PD THIS CHAB HAS IN FACT RENDERED
POLITICALLY NEUTRALIZING THE ANTI DASH ONE KULAK WORTH POLICY AND
PROVIDED ENOUGH LOOKHOLES FOR RECLASSIFICATION SO THAT THE OLD
CAMPAIGN AGAINST KULAKS MUST BE CONSIDERED SUSPENDED FOR THE
FUTURE PD NOT ONLY DOES CHAB CUT DOWN THE NUMBER OF
KULAKS WORTH CHA BUT HE ADVOCATES ONE THE CREATION OF
FARMSTEAMS OF THE POSSIBILITY OF UTILIZING THEIR
CAPACITY WORTH AS WELL AS ONE THE PROMOTING OF CONTRACT AGREEMENTS
WITH KULAK FARMSTEAMS WORTH PD PARA

ONE CONCRETE MEASURE FOR IMPROVING THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRYSIDE
IS THE ELIMINATION OF THE COMPULSORY QUOTA DELIVERIES FOR MILK
WHICH IS SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE IN THE NEAR FUTURE PD PARA
IN THE LIGHT OF THE ABOVE CHA THE FEW POLITE PHRASES UTTERED IN
DEFENSE OF THE SOCIALIZATION OF AGRICULTURE SEEM RELATIVELY
INSIGNIFICANT AND IN PRACTICE BEYOND OF MEANING PD PARA
FIVE THE PRESS AND THE TV PD THE PASSAGES OF CHAB APOS S SPEECH
DEVOTED TO THE PRESS INDICATE THAT HE MAY EXPECT AN INCREASE OF
CENSORSHIP AND A PROBABLY DECREASE IN THE CRITICAL ROLE PLAYED BY
CENSORSHIP AND A PROBABLY DECREASE IN THE CRITICAL ROLE PLAYED BY

ONE CONCRETE MEASURE FOR IMPROVING THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY IS THE ELIMINATION OF THE COMPULSORY QUOTA DELIVERIES FOR WHEAT WHICH IS SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE IN THE NEAR FUTURE PD PARA IN THE LIGHT OF THE ABOVE CHA THE FEW POLITE PHRASES OFFERED IN DEFENSE OF THE SOCIALIZATION OF AGRICULTURE SEEM RELATIVELY INSIGNIFICANT AND IN PRACTICE DEVOTED OF MEANING PD PARA FIVE THE PRESS AND THE TV PD THE PASSAGES OF CHA APUS S. SPEECH DEVOTED TO THE PRESS INDICATE THAT HE MAY EXPECT AN INCREASE OF CENSORSHIP AND A PROBABLY DECREASE IN THE CRITICAL ROLE PLAYED BY POLISH PUBLICATIONS IN RECENT MONTHS PD. FURTHER THIS WAS FORESHADOWED IN THE REPORTS OF OTOWIE IN COURRIERE DELLA SERA AND OTHERS TO THE EFFECT THAT PUBLICATIONS SUCH AS SZTANOWA MLODZOC CHA PRZECIAD KULTURALNY CHA NOWA KULTURA PD PROSTH HAD ALREADY COME UNDER HEAVY PRESSURE FIVE UPWARD PD PARA ALTHOUGH BEGINNING HIS REFERENCES TO THE ROLE OF THE PRESS WITH A FAVORABLE COMMENT CHA THE BURDEN OF CHA APUS S. COMMENTS IS QUITE CLEARLY THAT THE PRESS PAREN INCLUDING TRYBUNA LICH UPWARD HAS COME TOO FAR PD HE REBATES ONE CERTAIN ARTICLE IN SOME PAPERS AND IN THE RADIO WROTE FOR THE LACK OF RESTRAINT AND LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE OBJECTIVE REASONS OF OUR ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES WROTE PD CONNECTING THIS WITH A ONE POLITICAL DEMOCRATIZATION SLASH WHICH SLASH HAD TAKEN PLACE IN MANY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND IN THE CHAUS WROTE WHY IT IS TO WATCH OVER THE SECURITY OF THE PEOPLE STATE WROTE CHAUS CALLS FOR

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ORGANS OF PUBLIC SECURITY TO BE AT THE VIGILANT WROTE BUT THE TO ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAW WROTE PD WHILE CAUTIONING ONE BUREAUCRATS IN THE STATE AND ECONOMIC APPARATUS CHA AND SOMETIMES ALSO IN THE PARTY APPARATUS WROTE AGAINST TAKING REVENGE AGAINST THOSE WHO HAVE CRITICIZED THEM CHA HE WANTS ONE HE MUST NOT FORGET THAT THE FREEDOM OF CRITICISM MEANS THE FREEDOM OF ANY CRITICISM CHA HE DO NOT WANT CRITICISM FROM THE POSITIONS OF THE ENEMY AND HE SHALL NOT ALLOW SUCH CRITICISM WROTE PD PARA CHAUS APUS S. FIRST OBVIOUS THREAT IS CONTAINED IN THE STATEMENT THAT ONE RESISTANCE IS NECESSARY HERE CHA ABOVE ALL IN THE FORM OF ARGUMENTS EXPOSING ALL FALSITIES CHA PYNOCISZY AND DEMOCRACY CHA AND WHERE THE NECESSITY ARISES CHA IT IS NATURAL THAT THERE IS A NEED FOR ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES WHICH MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE ENEMY TO ABUSE THE FREEDOM OF CRITICISM WROTE PD SUCH ONE ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES WROTE COULD MEAN EVEN AN ACTIVE AND INTERVENTION CHA BUT WE ARE INCLINED TO BELIEVE THAT IMPOSITION OF STRICTER CENSORSHIP IS A MORE PROBABLE COURSE OF EVENTS GIVEN CURRENT POLISH REALITIES PD PARA THE ONLY PUNISHMENT ACTUALLY ISSUED BY CHAUS IS THE ONE WHICH CHA WHICH IS STRONGLY DEBATED FOR FAILING TO ONE RESIST THIS WAVE OF PESSIMISM WROTE AND BECAUSE ONE IT DOES NOT DETERMINEDLY RESIST THE ANTI DASH PARTY OUTBOURDS AND THE DOWNGOING CONTRADICTION IN SOME OF OUR PERIODICALS WROTE PD PARA TURNING TO THE ROLE OF THE PARTY CHA CHAUS IN ORIENTATION OF THE PARTY OF MANY PARTY ORGAN CASE OF POLISH ARE DEMANDING A ONE DOWN HERE PARTY WORK WROTE PD HE STRESSES THAT ONE THE POLISH INCIDENTS CANNOT CONSTITUTE ANY JUSTIFICATION FOR ANY ATTEMPT WHATSOEVER OF TURNING BACK THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION WROTE AND PROMISES THAT THIS ONE DEMOCRATIZATION WROTE WILL GO FORWARD BUT WITH ONE A RESIST OF ALL ATTEMPTS TO UTILIZE FREEDOM OF CRITICISM BY HOSTILE ELEMENTS FOR THE PURPOSE OF SPREADING ALIEN AND ANTI DASH MENIST VIEWS WROTE PD GREAT STRESS IS LAID UPON THE WEAKENING OF THE BOND EXISTING BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE ONE MASSES WROTE PD THE PARTY IS CALLED UPON TO EXERCISE ITS RESPONSIBILITIES WITH RESPECT TO ALL ASPECTS OF POLISH LIFE AND TO ONE SHOW SPECIAL CONCERN AND ATTENTION TO SAFEGUARD LEGALITY IN RELATION TO NATIONAL MINORITIES WROTE PD PARA IN ASSESSING THE UNWARRANTED AND FAULTS OF THE PPR CHA CHAUS ADMITS ONE THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT NO MEAN PORTION OF RESPONSIBILITY

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FOR THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS IS BEING BY US CHA BY THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY CHA SINCE HE FAILED TO COME FORWARD AT THE TIME OF THE GREATEST SHOCK FOLLOWING THE THIRTIETH CONGRESS WITH A SUFFICIENTLY CONCRETE PROGRAM OF ACTION CHA WITH THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE FIVE YEAR PLAN WROTE PD HE CALLS FOR LESS EMPHASIS UPON ONE WORK WITH THE APPARATUS OF GOVERNMENT WROTE AND MORE WORK WITH THE MASSES AND AMONG THE MASSES WROTE PD PARTY TENDENCIES TO DEVOTE ENERGY TO ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIVITY AND TO DEMOCRATIZATION AT THE EXPENSE OF THE REAL AIM OF INFORMING AND GUIDING THE PEOPLE ARE DEcriED AND ONE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP WROTE IS DEMANDS IN PLACE OF ONE DEEP ROOTED ADMINISTRATIVE HABITS WROTE PD IN EFFECT CHA CHAUS CALLS FOR GREATER SEPARATION OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT OR ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS PD THIS IS INDICATED WHEN HE STATES THAT ONE IT IS NECESSARY TO LIMIT IN A MAXIMUM POSSIBLE WAY STAFF NOMINATION IN ALL PARTY COMMITTEES SO THAT IT SHOULD BE APPLIED ONLY TO LEADING CHA SUPERIOR POSTS CHA WHILE LEAVING THE MANAGER OF A GIVEN STATE CHA ECONOMIC OR SOCIAL ORGAN FULLY RESPONSIBLE FOR DECISIONS CONCERNING ALL THE PERSONNEL SUBORDINATE TO HIM WROTE PD IN THIS AND OTHER PASSAGES CHA DECENTRALIZATION IS STRONGLY STRESSED PD PARA SHORTLY BEFORE CONCLUDING CHA CHAUS DEVOTES SEVERAL PARAGRAPHS TO THE ROLE OF THE UNITED PEASANT AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES PD DISPARAGING THE TENDENCY FOR PPR MEMBERS TO PAY NO ATTENTION TO OTHER PARTIES CHA CHAUS DENIES THAT THESE SECONDARY PARTIES OPEN ONE THE WAY DO NOT DO NOT TO OPPOSITION CHA CENTRALISM OR ONE ANTI DASH TENDENCIES WROTE PD DEMOCRATIZATION WROTE PD

TAKEN PLACE IN MANY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND IN THE POLISH STATE
BUT IT IS TO WATCH OVER THE SECURITY OF THE POLISH STATE
UNITE OCHAB CALLS FOR

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ORGANS OF PUBLIC SECURITY TO BE ATE VIGILANT UNITE BUT NOT TO ACT
IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAW UNITE PD WHILE CAUTIONING CTE DEMOCRATS
IN THE STATE AND ECONOMIC APPARATUS CMA AND SOMETIMES ALSO IN THE
PARTY APPARATUS UNITE AGAINST TAKING REVENGE AGAINST THOSE WHO HAVE
CRITICIZED THEM CMA HE WANTS CTE HE MUST NOT FORGET THAT THE FREEDOM
OF CRITICISM CANNOT MEAN THE FREEDOM OF ANY CRITICISM CMA HE DO NOT
WANT CRITICISM FROM THE POSITIONS OF THE ENEMY AND HE SHALL NOT ALLOW
SUCH CRITICISM UNITE PD PARA

OCHAB APES A MOST OBVIOUS THREAT IS CONTAINED IN THE STATEMENT
THAT CTE RESISTANCE IS NECESSARY HERE CMA ABOVE ALL IN THE FORM OF
ARRESTS EXPOSING ALL FALSITIES CMA HYPOCRISY AND DECEIT
CMA AND WHERE THE NECESSITY ARISES CMA IT IS NATURAL THAT THERE IS
A NEED FOR ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES WHICH MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE
FOR THE ENEMY TO ABUSE THE FREEDOM OF CRITICISM UNITE PD SUCH CTE
ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES UNITE COULD MEAN EVEN AN ACTION AND INTERVENTION
CMA BUT HE ARE INCLINED TO BELIEVE THAT IMPOSITION OF STRICTER
CENSORSHIP IS A MORE PROBABLE COURSE OF EVENTS GIVEN CURRENT
POLISH REALITIES PD PARA

THE ONLY PUBLICATION ACTUALLY NAMED BY OCHAB IS TRYBUNA LUDU
CMA WHICH IS STRONGLY REBATE FOR FAILING TO CTE RESIST THIS NAME
OF PESSIMISM UNITE AND DEGRADE CTE IT DOES NOT DETERMINEDLY RESIST
THE ANTI DASH PARTY OUTBURSTS AND THE DOWNGRADING CONTRASTS IN SOME
OF OUR PERIODICALS UNITE PD PARA

TURNING TO THE ROLE OF THE PTY CMA OCHAB DEN
ORIENTATION ON THE PARTY OF MANY PARTY ORGAN
CASE OF POZNAN AND DEMANDS A CTE BOUND HERE

PARTY WORK UNITE PD HE STRESSES THAT CTE THE POZNAN INCIDENTS CANNOT
CONSTITUTE ANY JUSTIFICATION FOR ANY ATTEMPT WHATSOEVER OF TURNING
BACK THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION UNITE AND PROMISES THAT THIS
OTE DEMOCRATIZATION UNITE WILL GO FORWARD BUT WITH CTE A RESIST
OF ALL ATTEMPTS TO UTILIZE FREEDOM OF CRITICISM BY HOSTILE ELEMENTS
FOR THE PURPOSE OF SPREADING ALLEGED AND ANTI DASH MARXIST VIEWS
UNITE PD GREAT STRESS IS LAID UPON THE WEAKENING OF THE BONDS
EXISTING BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE CTE MASSES UNITE PD THE PARTY
IS CALLED UPON TO EXERCISE ITS RESPONSIBILITIES WITH RESPECT TO
ALL ASPECTS OF POLISH LIFE AND TO CTE SHOW SPECIAL CONCERN AND
ATTENTION TO SAFEGUARD LEGALITY IN RELATION TO NATIONAL MINORITIES
UNITE PD PARA

IN ASSESSING THE NEARNESS AND FAULTS OF THE PTY CMA OCHAB ADMITS
OTE THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT NO NEAR PORTION OF RESPONSIBILITY

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FOR THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS IS DOWN BY NO CMA BY THE LEADERSHIP OF
THE PARTY CMA SINCE HE FAILED TO GOE FORWARD AT THE TIME OF THE
GREATEST SHOCK FOLLOWING THE TWENTIETH CONGRESS WITH A
SUFFICIENTLY CONCRETE PROGRAM OF ACTION CMA WITH THE BASIC
PRINCIPLES OF THE FIVE YEAR PLAN UNITE PD HE CALLS FOR LESS DEPENDANCE
UPON CTE WORK WITH THE APPARATUS OF GOVERNMENT UNITE AND MORE UPON
WORK CTE WITH THE MASSES AND AMONG THE MASSES UNITE PD PARTY
TENDENCY TO DIVOTE ENERGY TO ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIVITY AND TO DEGRADE
SUBORDINATED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE REAL AIM OF INFORMING AND
GUIDING THE PEOPLE ARE DOOMED AND CTE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP
UNITE IS DEMANDS IN PLACE OF CTE DEEP-ROOTED ADMINISTRATIVE HABITS
UNITE PD IN EFFECT CMA OCHAB CALLS FOR CREATED SEPARATION OF PARTY
AND GOVERNMENT OR ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS PD THIS IS INDICATED WHEN
HE STATES THAT CTE IT IS NECESSARY TO LIMIT IN A MAXIMUM POSSIBLE
WAY STAFF NOMINATION IN ALL PARTY COMMITTEES SO THAT IT SHOULD BE
APPLIED ONLY TO LEADING CMA SUPERIOR POSTS CMA WHILE LEAVING THE
MANAGER OF A CIVIL STATE CMA ECONOMIC OR SOCIAL ORGAN FULLY
RESPONSIBLE FOR DECISIONS CONCERNING ALL THE PERSONNEL SUBORDINATED
TO HIM UNITE PD IN THIS AND OTHER PASSAGES CMA DECENTRALIZATION IS
STROUGLY STRESSED PD PARA

SHORTLY BEFORE CONCLUDING CMA OCHAB DEVOTES SEVERAL PASSAGES TO
THE ROLE OF THE UNITED PEASANT AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES PD DEPRECATING
THE TENDENCY FOR PTY MEMBERS TO PAY NO ATTENTION TO OTHER
PARTIES CMA OCHAB BELIEVES THAT THESE SECONDARY PARTIES OPEN CTE THE WAY
BUT NOT DOT TO OPPOSITION CMA CENTRIFUGAL OR
TENDENCIES UNITE PD OCHAB CLAIMS THAT THE PTY MEMBERS WHO
IMPORTANT SUPPORT AMONG A SECTION OF THE PEASANT MASSES AND THE
DEMOCRATIC PARTY DOT NOT DOT SUPPORT AMONG CRAFTSMEN AND A SECTION
OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA UNITE AND CMA THEREFORE CMA THEY ARE WORTHY
OF CONSIDERATION PD PARA IT DOES NOT SEEM LIKELY THAT THIS
MEANS THE PEASANT AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES WILL PLAY ANY REALLY IMPORTANT
ROLE PD HOWEVER CMA IF THE INTELLIGENTSIA ARE HESITANT IN VOICING
THEIR COMPLAINTS IN THE PRESS FROM NOW ON CMA THEY MAY RESORT
TO USE THE SECONDARY PARTIES AS A VEHICLE OF EXPRESSION PD THERE IS
NO EVIDENCE THAT THIS HAS BEEN DONE IN THE PAST AND SUCH A
DEVELOPMENT PROBABLY REMAINS UNLIKELY UNITE PD PARA

OCHAB CLOSES HIS SPEECH WITH A CALL FOR THE PRESENTATION OF A PLAN
OF ACTION UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF WHICH POLAND CAN WORK IN THE FUTURE PD
PROBABLY CMA THIS PROGRAM WILL BE MADE PUBLIC AS A RESULT OF
THE CURRENT SEVENTH PLenary MEETING PD PARA

OUR CONCLUSIONS AND LINE LATER PD

END 1952

SECRET

NOFORN CONTINUED CONTROL

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